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ABSTRACT

Over the past 10 years, there have been calls for and attempts at social studies reform in Norway and the United States. But all social sciences, it seems, are not equal. Some social sciences (history, geography, civics, economics) are more equal than others (sociology, anthropology, psychology). Within this charged atmosphere the Social Science Education Consortium held its annual conference in Norway in 1998, and 11 papers from that conference are presented in this collection. The papers are: "Using National Social Studies Standards in the Real World" (Gerald W. Marker); "Technology and Reform: A Retrospective View" (Richard A. Diem); "If the Internet Is the Answer, What Is the Question?" (Peter R. Senn); "Electronic Technology and the Future of Social Studies in Elementary and Secondary Schools" (James P. Shaver); "On the Half-Life of Curriculum Reform: Personal Reflections" (Nicholas Helburn); "The Difficulty in Change: The Tenacity of Teachers and Teacher Education--New York as a Case Study" (Linda Biemer); "On the Paradox of Evaluating Achievement in Social Studies" (Arja Virta); "History Education, Cultural Identity and Practice" (Mariane Hedegaard); "News Media Education in Democratic Societies: A Means to Reforming Social Studies?" (Mary A. Hepburn); "News Media Education in Democratic Societies: as a Means to Reforming Social Studies" (Jan Vincens Steen); and "Reform and Changes in Social Studies" (Erik Lund). (Most papers contain references.) (BT)

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Reform and Change in Social Studies

1998 SSEC Annual Conference

SO 031 618

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Conference Background

Professor Murry R. Nelson

Penn State University

Over the past ten years there have been both calls for and attempts at social studies reform in Norway and the United States. Some of these have been generated by a "regular" reexamination of a field by those within that field, but most have been stimulated by forces external to schools. These include politicians, the media, business concerns and parental groups. Their various rationales for promoting reform or revision are not the same but are based upon a number of interlocking notions; some political groups, often right wing and conservative, but not exclusively so, have perceived schools as straying from what these groups consider the primary functions of schools as well as deviating from the "right" manner of achieving these functions. This is not a new and original pattern, but, in fact, has been followed as early as the 1930s and reappeared in various guises since then at least in American education.

The concerns that these political groups decry are eventually heard by some in the media and the "accusations" of failure of academic shortcomings are soon raised by the media in a variety of forms and forums. Soon after, business groups weigh in with similar complaints of scholastic needs not being met by schools and these groups seem to generate parental ire at the inability of schools to properly educate and prepare young people for the world of work. All this usually is accompanied by a demand for more testing, particularly standardized and national tests. In the absence of research data, short term studies are made which are tailored to reach the conclusions already decided upon, that is, schools are not doing the job and reform must be implemented from top to bottom.

The pattern described has been true for social studies, though social studies was a "secondary subject " swept up in the initial waves of academic revisionism. In that role social studies itself has been attacked as a significant part of the problem. A desire to return to the "purity" of the individual social sciences as the font of knowledge and reform has made social studies the subject of total annihilation. But all social sciences, it seems, are not equal. Some social sciences(history, geography, civics, economics) are more equal than others (sociology, anthropology, psychology). Thus, it is within this charged atmosphere that the 1998 SSEC annual conference was held in Lillehammer, Norway with the theme of Reform in the Social Studies, Nordic and American Perspectives.

I (Nelson) had first come into contact with the issue of social studies reform in 1990-91 while working as a Roving Scholar of American Studies for the Radet for videregande skole of the Norwegian Ministry of Education, Research and Church. In that capacity I visited and worked with secondary school teachers all over Norway and also consulted with a number of colleges and universities. In that capacity I met Lars Monsen and Yngve Nordkvelle and became much more informed about social studies issues in Norway. They were far more aware of these issues in the United States because of reading American educational journals and they could draw parallels to these and similar concerns in Norway. The three of us stayed in contact and Nelson used his position on the Board of Directors of the Social Science Education Consortium to convince that body to hold its annual conference in Norway and to focus on issues of mutual concern. In 1995 the Board agreed to hold the conference in Lillehammer and Nelson, Monsen and Nordkvelle began planning that conference. Monsen and Nordkvelle thought it judicious to invite other Nordic educators and the conference roster then includes representatives from Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Sweden as well as Norway and the United States.

Conference Sessions

For the most part the papers are presented in session order, that is, they appear as they were grouped and presented at the conference held at Lillehammer College June 24-27, 1998. Not all

papers are included because some participants did not submit a final written paper or may not have wished to have their papers included in this volume. Gerald Marker's paper reflected a concern that Professor Marker has had and researched for a number of years, that is, change strategies and the effects of reform and innovation on real change in schools and education. His chapter, "Using National Standards in the Real World" first focused on how social studies specialists in six states saw the national standards in social studies, history, geography and civics being used in each of those states. Marker chronicles the work done in the states that he studied, particularly as state standards were developed to parallel the national standards. His conclusions are tentative but not terribly sanguine regarding the potential for a lasting impact of this latest "innovation". As he notes in his conclusion, "unless I am badly mistaken, even standards-driven reform will eventually make way for the next issue, innovation, or fad; for if there is one lesson we learned long ago it is that there will always be something new to replace what is presently considered to be the latest and the best."

The next session focused on "Technology and Social Studies Reform". Richard Diem offered a retrospective view in which he examines changes over the past decade in the use and needs of technology in social studies. He notes that the rise in technology applications has brought a concomitant and not surprising rise in expenditures. This, in turn, has raised important questions of equity regarding access to technology. Diem lays out a number of ways in which technology is actually applied in the classroom as well as the hoped for effects of such applications upon schools, students and teachers.

Peter Senn's paper addresses a number of issues regarding the Internet and social studies. He offers many perspectives and then raises as many questions regarding the Internet, questions that need to be addressed and answered before educators can begin to claim mastery of the Internet as a social studies tool for learning.

The next session of the conference examined "Social Studies Reform: Future Possibilities , the Past Record" and there was as much retrospective discussion as there was prospective possibilities. These kinds of perspectives and discussions are vital to having change in a field actually become adopted and incorporated into the workings and the traditions of the field. Certainly social studies is no different in that respect.

James Shaver, who was involved with the Harvard Public Issues curriculum in the 1960s and examines the status of New Social Studies projects in the 1970s offers some perspectives on various technological changes in society, illustrating the decreasing amounts of time between invention and widespread adaptation of a technological innovation. He then traces a number of technologies that were predicted to revolutionize teaching and offered possibilities for today's technologies within that same realm of possibility. Shaver emphasizes that a key to much of the success of these technologies as tool for learning in school lies with the teacher, teacher training and adequate teacher support. Shaver concludes that he is skeptical of wholesale changes in schools actually occurring despite all of the technology becoming more and more accessible.

Nicholas Helburn briefly discusses the long term effects of curriculum reform in his paper. Helburn has a unique perspective from which to present his views, having been one of the original developers of the High School Geography Project in the late 1960s. The enormous financial support and the acclaim that the project received should have ensured a "permanent" place for it in the high school curriculum. Helburn reflects on why that expectation was never achieved.

Interlocking with Shaver and Helburn's perspectives are those of Linda Biemer who addresses "The Difficulty of Change: The Tenacity of Teachers and Teacher Education- New York as a Case Study". Biemer, with more than 30 years as a teacher-educator and/or dean in a school of education certainly has a strong personal grounding for her historical perspectives and narrative. Biemer is dismayed that little in teacher education demands and practices seems to have changed over the past 20-25 years. In making this observation she reiterates some of the notions of earlier writers in this collection such as Marker or Shaver. In the course of trying to analyze why change has been so difficult Biemer also makes suggestions for promoting more and better change in teacher education. Without such efforts she fears for the entire process of teacher education within higher education.

The next session brought some Nordic perspectives on history and social studies. Arja Virta, a professor at the University of Turku, Finland, with two Ph.D.s in both history and education, discusses the difficulty of assessing performances in social studies in her paper, "On the Paradox of Evaluation Achievement in Social Studies". Virta, who has her main research interests in the field of history learning and social studies evaluation, especially new assessments, examines the challenge of relating taught concepts with actions of students, i.e. convincing causal relations.

A broader applied definition of evaluation and its subsequent application to social studies then follows.

Marianne Hedegaard's paper, "History Education, Cultural identity and Practice" offers her reflections on teaching experiments with cultural minority children. The settings are quite different- Aarhus, Denmark with Palestinian boys who were not being well served in the ordinary Danish public schools and Puerto Rican children in New York City. Hedegaard, a lektor at the University of Aarhus, and with research experiences from both Scandinavia and the U.S., utilizes a working definition of social studies that is akin to "social studies as social life" , one unusual, but not unique. In fact, Jack Fraenkel offered this as one working definition in a social studies methods text (*Helping Students Think and Value in Social Studies*, 1972,1980). In both projects, Hedegaard and her associates sought to combine everyday experience with subject-matter concepts of history. The succesful integration of these leads to more relevance for the children and greater knowledge and understanding.

The next session resulted in two highly integrated papers. Mary Hepburn of the University of Georgia has been engaged in research regarding children's exposure to and understanding of the media and media concepts. Her paper, "News Media Education in Democratic Societies: A Means to Reforming Social Studies?", offered her perspectives in this arena. Hepburn briefly describes the field of media studies, then investigates whether it might offer posibilities for the reform of social studies. She concludes that using media studies to examine influences on civility, tolerance,community service,among others, very well might contribute to a sense of excitement for students and, ultimately, positive change in social studies education. Jan Steen, a former teacher and the manager of the Newspapers in Education program in Norway, extended Hepburn's observations as he drew from his work in Norway and similar activities in other countries. Steen and those in his business see yoked goals of developing active and conscious newspaper readers and committed citizens. Steen illustrated how this can be done and the variants on that pursuit through examples from France, Ireland, South Africa, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands as well as Norway.

In the last session Erik Lund, a first amanuensis at Ostfold College and one of the most influential teachers and scholars in this area in Norway, discussed "Social Studies and Teacher Education in Norway. The 1998 Curriculum Reform : History in Transistion". Lund describes the curriculum reform process in Norway from 1993 to 1998 and analyzes what happened to history during this reform period, particularly the new curriculum for history in teacher education.

As a result of this conference a number of things happened. The social and professional interactions and discussions have already resulted in proposals for individual or institutional exchange programs. There was a clear flow of new knowledge in both directions, that is from Nordic participants to American participants as well as in the other direction. The notion that a number of nations are undergoing similar educational reform movements and are enduring closer public scrutiny of such reform was heartening to those who may have felt that they were "toiling alone". Norway, and particularly Lillehammer, was able to be seen as the beautiful natural location that it is, peopled with an intelligent and responsible populace willing to help others locally or internationally. We hope that this spirit that pervaded the conference will be considered when reading these papers.

SSEC 1998

Using National Social Studies Standards in the Real World

Professor Gerald W. Marker

Social Studies Education, Indiana University

Introduction

A sabbatical leave during the spring semester of 1998 permitted me to follow-up on a process in which I was involved a few years ago. In the early 1990s I joined ten other colleagues in developing the social studies curriculum standards published by the National Council for the Social Studies (National Task Force for Social Studies Standards 1994). At about that same time several other teams were developing standards in history, geography, and civics (National Center for History in the Schools 1994 A & B, Geography Education Standards Project 1994, Center for Civic Education 1994). Later a team would also develop standards in economics (National Council on Economic Education 1997). The flurry of standards development was not limited to social studies, but that was and is the area that most interests me.

My sabbatical provided me with the opportunity to see what had happened to those standards once they left the hothouse environment of the development lab and moved into the real world of schools and other educational agencies. Given my long standing interest in the process of the adoption and disadoption of educational innovations I was reasonably sure that what the developers intended for their standards only partially matched what had actually happened with them and I wanted to fill in that picture.

The Dream of Standards-Driven Educational Reform

The dream of standards-based educational reform went something like this. The federal government would develop a set of national educational goals and would establish agencies that would generate criteria for the development of standards. State and professional groups, some of which would be supported by federal grants, would develop the actual standards. Those standards would then be submitted to another federal agency, which would have the authority to approve or reject them. States wishing to qualify for other federally funded education programs would have to develop or adapt standards consistent with the nationally approved standards. Finally, national assessments based on the approved standards would be developed and used to determine whether the new standards were being met. At least on paper it all looked very clean and workable, a top-down systems approach to solving our educational problems.

The Dream Confronts Political Reality

While it is difficult to establish exactly when the implementation of this dream began, the publication of *America 2000: An Education Strategy* (U.S. Department of Education 1991) established the broad federal goals on which the standards program was to be based. America 2000, with the strong support of President Bush, called for the development of content standards, performance standards, and opportunity-to-learn standards. The Goals 2000 legislation, which followed, authorized the creation of a National Education Standards Improvement Council (NESIC) which would work with another new agency, the National Education Goals Panel (NEGP), to develop criteria for certifying national content and student performance standards and opportunity to learn standards as well as certifying standards which would be submitted by the states and professional associations.

By 1993 John O'Neil (1993A) described the national standards movement as an idea that, " ... has emerged as one of the most widely discussed options for improving the U.S. education system," a movement that " ... has won over a significant number of supporters-among them President Bill Clinton and a surprising number of prominent educators" (p. 4). He went on to cite several indicators of the strength of standards-driven reform. For example, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) had already published what would become the prototype standards document and over 40 states were already revising their curriculum frameworks to

reflect those new standards.[1] Other professional organizations, social studies among them, were also developing their own standards, and Congress seemed ready to fund the support structure needed to make national standards work. Flood and Lap (1993) were also very optimistic about progress that had already been made toward a system of national goals, standards, and assessments.

In mid 1995 the *Phi Delta Kappan* featured a section on standards and Anne Lewis wrote that " ... the notion of national standards for what students learn in schools is the hottest item in education reform today" (Lewis 1995, p. 745). Ironically, by that time serious problems had already begun to appear. Lewis grouped these problems around six questions:

1. What are standards?
2. Who is setting the standards?
3. Who decides if a standard is good?
4. What is causing all the controversy?
5. Are teachers being left out of the debate?
6. Will the public buy into the standards movement?

Put another way, the situation in 1995 was this: it was unclear just what it took for something to qualify as a standard, there was disagreement over whose job it was to set standards, there was still no clear process for quality-control, standards developers had become embroiled in value-laden issues and classroom teachers were apprehensive about the avalanche of standards that would descend on them. Additionally there were questions regarding public support for standards in general since local schools were already thought to be doing a good job.

The situation on the political front had definitely changed. In 1995 the new Republican Congress began dismantling the support structure for national standards. NESIC, which was to have certified state and local standards in all subject areas, was abolished. Political conservatives feared that it would become a "national school board" that would "dominate and interfere" with local decisions (Berkson 1997, p. 210). But it was not only political conservatives who were upset. Liberals were becoming concerned that a national testing program based on "world class" standards would unfairly discriminate against large numbers of African American and Latino students. Thus, while the standards movement still showed promise and retained momentum, it was also clear that the honeymoon was over. As with all dreams, what looked so simple and logical on paper was more complicated once it was in the public arena.

Meanwhile, Back in Social Studies

Social studies presented two special problems for those advocating standards-driven reform. First, should there be one set of interdisciplinary, social studies standards or should standards be developed in each of the related subject areas such as history, geography, economics, sociology, etc? Second, how should standards developers deal with the many value issues and political interpretations so common in social studies, history, and the social sciences? As it turned out both issues would be resolved, but not to everyone's satisfaction.

Because they were mentioned by name in the Goals 2000 legislation; history, civics and geography standards development efforts were awarded federal funding. Social studies, considered to be a "non-" or "soft" discipline by politicians, was left off the list and ultimately funded by the National Council for the Social Studies. Economics, even though one of the traditional disciplines, was the last to develop standards, and also on their own in terms of funding. When the dust settled people in social studies found themselves with **six** sets of national standards and a plethora of state and local standards.

It was the history standards, especially the high school U.S. history standards, that walked into the values minefield and set off a firestorm of debate. Accused of being too liberal, too multi-cultural, and too focused on negative events in our history, the proposed standards were condemned by a vote of 99:1 in the U.S. Senate.[2] It is not my intent to reconstruct the debate over the history standards. Those wishing to do so will find they have dozens of articles from which to choose (Diegmueller 1995, Elson 1994, Evans and Pang 1995, Gluck 1994, Jones 1995, Nash and Ross 1995, Saunders 1996, Schneider 1995, Saxe-1996, Whelan 1996).

And, as mentioned earlier, there was considerable confusion over what was meant by the term, standards. To some, standards implied a list, often long, of what students need to know and be able to do. The people writing about standards (Cohen 1996, Eisner 1995, Noddings 1997, Ravitch 1995, Rigeluth 1997, etc) generally refer to these as "content" or "curriculum" standards. Others use the term, standards, to refer to **how much** students need to know or **how well** they need to be able to do something, for example, name all the U. S. Presidents versus name, them in the order of their terms in office and give their party affiliation.[3] For the sake of clarity let us call these types "performance" standards. Still others use standards to refer to opportunities to do or lean something

such as, "all students should have access to the Internet" or "all students should have the opportunity to work with historical documents or actual social science data." These are generally termed ", opportunity to learn" (OTL) standards.

In this paper I want to focus on "content" standards, because that is what the history, geography, civics, and social studies standards are; content standards. It is not that performance standards are not important. In fact, one could make the case that without performance standards, curriculum standards are essentially useless. But content standards are what we have in our field, so they became the objects of my study.

Study Design and Data Collection

The focus of this study was on how social studies specialists in six Mid-western states saw the standards being used in their states. Data was collected using a set of Q-sort cards and structured interviews. In addition, the social studies standards of the six states and some commercial materials were also examined. Finally, several representatives of publishing companies were informally interviewed.

The Q-sort was a technique I had developed and used in two previous studies (Marker 1984 & 1987). I claim no statistical significance for the process, but it does allow respondents to react to specific statements, many of which are then revisited during the actual interviews.

In this instance a Q-sort deck of 21 cards, each containing a statement about standards, was developed using either statements made during informal interviews with several people or from positions taken in the literature dealing with standards. Prior to the structured interview, each participant in the study was asked to sort the Q-sort deck into four piles based upon the extent to which they either agreed or disagreed with the statement on the card.[4] Structured interviews followed the Q-sort exercise. These interviews lasted between one and two hours and were typically conducted in the respondent's office, though two interviews were conducted at the Great Lakes Regional , Social Studies meeting in Rosemont, Illinois. All interviews took place during April and May of 1998. In every case I felt respondents were candid and helpful, for which I sincerely thank them. In an effort to get some notion of how publishers of social studies materials were reacting to the social studies standards I also spoke with several publishers representatives during the Great Lakes Regional meeting.

I obtained some sets of standards and the two Fordham Reports (Munroe & Smith 1998, Saxe 1998) via the Internet, though most often I was given the standards during the interview visit. As a cross-check, I interviewed the social studies supervisor in a large city in Indiana, and an Illinois social studies teacher who chaired one of the state standards development teams.

Findings

Uses of the Standards: Intended and Otherwise

When an innovation is under development its designers make certain assumptions about how it will be used. Those assumptions do not always prevail once the innovation reaches the hands of users, despite specific instructions from the developers to the contrary. For example, the designers of modern automotive engines make certain assumptions and recommendations regarding maintenance that should be performed at periodic intervals. We all know from experience that some owners then follow those recommendations to the letter while others follow them hardly at all, much to the dismay of the engineers who designed the engines. As a result, some engines perform as expected but many others do not. Alas, that is the nature of the real world where there is often quite a poor fit between the intended and actual uses of an innovation.

The Standards as a Basis for National Assessments

It would be unfair to characterize most, or even many, of the people who developed the various standards as advocates of educational change based on an interlocking system of national standards linked to national assessments, the results of which were then connected to federal aid to schools. While some of the developers might have wished that the standards they were developing would be mandatory, and certainly some influential people must have felt that way(otherwise why invest several million dollars in standards development) that hope vanished when the political mood swung against federal mandates of any sort. When that happened all the standards, of necessity, became voluntary. For those who viewed national standards as a way to compel change in social studies, the game was over. By 1997, when the economics standards were published, the term voluntary was even included in the title (National Council on Economic Education 1997). The other sets of standards each indicate, in one way or another, that they also are intended to be voluntary.

In retrospect, it would have been politically unwise and perhaps impossible to enforce a set of national standards. None of my respondents, all daily players in the politics of education policy, thought that such a move would have been feasible and only two respondents "somewhat disagreed" with the following Q-sort item.

> The worst thing you could do to the whole idea of national standards would be to make them mandatory.

Even when state standards borrow heavily from the national standards, and many do, the resulting state standards have the support of legislators and state school boards. Such support is deemed critical when state standards are later questioned or attacked. National standards never enjoyed such support and without it could never have been made mandatory.

A majority of respondents agreed with the Q-sort item[5] indicating that the entire national standards movement had already begun to lose its momentum. Most attributed this decline to the fact that the standards were not going to be linked to a national assessment. So respondents did not want mandatory standards, and by implication, a mandatory national assessment, but they agreed that without assessments to support them national standards were not going to amount to much.

The belief that the movement was losing momentum apparently did not stem from a perception that the national standards were unrealistic, since six of the eight respondents disagreed with a Q-sort item expressing that opinion.[6] Nor did it apparently grow out of a belief that national standards were to be avoided, since only two of the eight respondents agreed with this Q-sort:

> I think the job of writing standards is something that is best left to the state and local districts. It is a mistake to think one can write national, one-size-fits-all standards.

At first glance, it may seem inconsistent to oppose national standards but then also believe that standards development should not be left to the states and local school districts. The key to understanding this apparent inconsistency is the idea of **mandatory** standards that most respondents opposed and thought would not work. Voluntary national standards were fine, as will be seen later, and were often used in constructing state standards.

Likewise, the idea that standards should only be written at the level where they would actually be used received little support. Only two of the respondents agreed, and then only somewhat, with the following Q-sort item:

> It doesn't do much good to write standards at the state or federal level. The only standards that mean much are those worked out between teachers and their students. Maybe another way to put it is to say that you can't write standards for someone else.

In some states local school districts are required to construct and administer their own assessments to document student learning. Several respondents felt that such a requirement was either never met or poorly met, so the idea of having standards written and assessed at the local level did not seem to them to be realistic.

As indicated earlier, while the mandatory, top-down, standards-driven model of reform may have had some support at the national level it clearly had little support among people working at the state level. Because Congress withdrew support, it never came down to a test of power between the two approaches to see which level would prevail. The states simply won by default in the political arena. The belief in state and local control of schools still carries enormous weight. However, those who oppose standards in any form cannot claim victory. As states have borrowed from the national standards and developed their own assessments the idea of standards linked to assessments has grown to the point where Philo (1998) recently wrote that "... standards and assessments are clearly becoming the backbone of educational reform movements" (p. 342).

The Standards as a Springboard for Local Discussions of Curriculum

One of the things that developers of the national standards hoped was that their standards would, at the very least, lead to local discussions of what children should know and be able to do in social studies, ideas expressed in two Q-sort items:

> The most useful thing the national standards do is to serve as a basis for continuing the discussion regarding what our students should be learning.

> Even if national standards don't lead to increased student knowledge, they will have at least helped us clarify what is important in the curriculum.

Even though, most respondents agreed with these two items, during the interviews I found little support for the idea that the standards had become the basis for such discussions in local schools, something a study by Grant (1995) would have predicted. Most indicated that their state standards received much more scrutiny and discussion at the local level than did the national standards. Various reasons were given for this; the national standards

were bulky and unmanageable, the state standards were the ones that would be assessed, and teachers were too busy preparing for state assessments to concern themselves with what "might have been" when it came to setting standards. But respondents apparently did not attribute the lack of local discussions to the fact that teachers already knew what students needed to know and thus did not want to be bothered with such discussions, since they split almost evenly between agreeing and disagreeing on the following Q-sort item:

> Look, the problem isn't "what children should know and be able to do?" Most teachers already know that. The real question is, "How do we get them to do it"

But things changed greatly when respondents were asked about how the standards were used by the committees developing state standards. At that level the national standards often became a source of ideas and support for the state standards, as will be seen later.

The Standards as a Source of New Lesson Ideas

Since I did not survey individual teachers I am not sure how much they actually use the standards as a source of new lesson ideas. My own experience with undergraduates in my methods classes, where such use of the standards is by far the most popular, lead me to think that teachers who bother to look at the standards will also use them that way. However, respondents were not sure, splitting evenly in their support for the following Q-sort item:

> The people in history, geography, and NCSS may have intended for the standards they developed to be statements of what students should know, but to me the most useful aspects of these standards documents is as a source of new lesson ideas for teachers.

Respondents said during the interviews that teachers often commented favorably regarding examples that appeared in their state standards. Couple that with the fact that several reviews of the draft NCSS standards also recommended that the lesson examples, called vignettes, contained in the document be printed and sold separately, and I think one can build a good case that the standards may indeed be getting such use, though again the data on this are sketchy at best.[7] One thing seems certain, the easier it is to obtain standards and their related examples, the more likely it is that teachers will turn to them for lesson ideas. The National Science Education Standards, for example, can be printed directly from the Internet without charge.[8]

The Standards as a Way to Change Instructional Materials

Based upon my conversations with publishers, it is clear that they are aware of the various national standards and are quickly trying to inform potential customers about how their social studies products align with those standards. Several publishers had already produced advertising materials illustrating how their products conformed to this or that standard and without exception they indicated they would incorporate the recommendations contained in the standards in their next editions. But my respondents were much less certain such change would occur, with only five of the eight agreeing with the following Q-sort:

> Based upon our experience so far, it is in the area of instructional materials, such as textbooks, where the national standards will eventually have their greatest impact.

Perhaps it was the term "greatest" that caused several respondents to disagree with this statement, but interview data suggest two other possibilities. First, some respondents felt that any alignments would be superficial, with publishers doing their best to make their materials appear to be "new" and "aligned" when in fact they really had not changed. Two respondents felt that it would depend upon what the large market states like California, Texas and Florida wanted, since they would be the real focus of any revisions made by publishers. If those states wanted materials aligned with the national standards, then they would be, otherwise it would be the standards linked to assessments in large markets that eventually drove the revisions in materials. Respondents from states where schools purchased materials from off a state adoption list felt that their state standards might wield some small influence with publishers, but those respondents from states that practiced open adoption offered little hope that their state standards would carry much weight when it came time for publishers to revise their materials, even if their state standards were linked to state-wide assessments. However, respondents generally agreed that **if** mandatory nation-wide assessments had been based upon the national standards then instructional materials would have truly been realigned with the standards, at least with those being assessed.

The Standards as a Basis for State Standards

It appears that this is the area where the national standards made their greatest impact. All states in my sample have developed their own social studies

standards, though they are sometimes referred to as something else.[9] In one state the standards development process was well along before drafts of the national standards were available, but in the other states that were developing their own standards at the time the national standards became available, those standards became an important resource.

As noted earlier, some have argued that standards should not be written at one level, for use at another level, (Noddings 1997) but respondents tended not to agree. Only two of the eight even "somewhat agreed" with the following Q-sort item:

> It doesn't do much good to write standards at the state or federal level. The only standards that mean much are those worked out between teachers and their students. Maybe another way to put it is to say that you can't write standards for someone else.

Even the two respondents who somewhat agreed were, like the remaining five, writing standards for some one else (i.e., local districts in their states) as a part of their jobs, and in all but one state those standards were linked to statewide assessments.

However, there was little desire to restrict standards development to the state and local levels, in part because the respondents viewed the national standards as useful, both as a source of ideas for their state standards and as a form of authoritative cover when their state standards came under fire. No one expressed concern about the extent to which their state standards resembled various national standards because the borrowing process was always part of the state committee's discussion about what should be in the their social studies curriculum. Respondents considered the process of developing the standards to be more important than the source of the standards. This is reflected by the fact that all respondents agreed with the Q-sort to that effect.[10]

Five of the eight respondents disagreed with the Q-sort indicating that subject-specific standards helped reduce confusion.[11] As they developed their most recent standards, several states were revising earlier guidelines or frameworks that were organized thematically, so the thematic nature of the NCSS standards (National Task Force for Social Studies Standards 1994) made the best fit. But the individual disciplines are certainly identifiable in most state standards, though not necessarily called history, geography, etc. It is in the "quality of life" areas where the state standards most differ from the discipline-specific national standards.[12] State committees were much more willing to include what can appropriately be called "good citizen" standards than were the authors of the discipline-specific standards.[13] For example, one of the six strands in the Ohio standards (Ohio Department of Education 1994) is titled, Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities. When translated into actual objectives this strand means things like: shows care for the needs of others, displays respect for authority, works in groups to achieve mutual goals, associates the exercise of responsibilities with the exercise of rights, and participates in a project designed to serve the community. The Indiana Proficiencies (Indiana Department of Education 1996) have, as one of the strands, Civic Ideals and Practice. One of the intended outcomes associated with that strand is, "Develop a commitment to the civic values needed to function responsibly in a democratic society." (p.5) The Michigan standards include one dealing with citizen involvement, "All students will consider the effects of an individual's actions on other people, how one acts in accordance with the rule of law, and how one acts in a virtuous and ethically responsible way as a member of society." (Michigan State Board of Education 1995, p. 24)

Even though state standards include more of the value laden "good citizen" objectives, an area where most of the national standards tread lightly, it would be wrong to assume that state standards development committees could ignore politically sensitive issues. On the contrary, each state had its own political issues. In one state they were forced to remove a strand having to do with global issues. In another state several approved sequences of high school history are described, among them one where U.S. and world history are merged. Another respondent said such a suggestion in her state would be politically impossible! So while political concerns varied from state to state, they were there for the state standards developers to contend with.

As was the case with the national standards, state standards were content rather than performance standards, and, even then at a very general level. Most states have a strong tradition of local control, which calls for the selection of specific content to be left up to local districts. Thus a standard might call for students to "describe the role of heroes in American culture" without specifying which heroes or what would constitute a satisfactory response to such a standard. In some states the process of converting content standards to performance standards is delegated to the testing and evaluation division and in two states outside commercial firms are given the task. Teachers, however, are then typically involved in developing scoring rubrics for such items. Regardless of who

gets the job, before assessment can take place general standards must be translated into specific examples and tasks, and scoring rubrics developed, but most state standards do not provide that level of detail. Recall that it was just such detail that caused the public outcry over the U.S. History standards, so state standards committees had little incentive to provide similar specifics. Ironically it was the lack of such specifics that caused most state standards to receive failing grades in the Fordham reports (Munroe & Smith 1998, Saxe1998).

The Standards as a Means of In fluencing Assessment

Murry Nelson has written that the national standards are unrealistic in terms of what they propose that students know (Nelson 1998). While the majority of respondents disagreed with a Q-sort to that effect[14], I think Nelson is right. But what the standards advocate, that I believe is realistic, is that students learn the skills of applying what they know as opposed to simply remembering a long list of facts. Assessing that type of learning generally requires something other than simple, objective-type questions. Several of the states are experimenting with just such open-ended, constructed-response types of items despite the fact that they are difficult to construct and expensive and time consuming to score. Respondents generally agree that students had a right to know what was expected of them, and how they would be expected to meet each standard. Given that, the problem becomes one of how to help students demonstrate their knowledge in the manner called for in the new types of assessments that are being developed.

California was one of the early leaders in preparing teachers to score the new, open-ended items, something they must know before they can help their own students acquire the skills tested by such items. All respondents agreed with the following Q-sort:

> Teachers need to see examples of actual "good" and "bad" student responses to application-type, open-ended assessment items if they are going to help students get better at applying what they know. Just publishing standards isn't going to do it.

Only two respondents "somewhat disagreed" with the following Q-sort item:

> Abstract goals and general standards cannot help teachers and parents nearly as much as real examples of actual student work. Accompanied by a discussion "in plain English" of how the quality of those responses differ.

Based upon interview data the part of the statement that generated some disagreement had to do with the abstract goals and general statements not being as helpful as specific examples. Given that the state standards and goals are of a general nature, the item really pulled some respondents in two differing directions.

Several states are considering developing materials that will help teachers learn to cope with these new types of assessments and, in the process, help students learn how to achieve on such assessments. The Wisconsin standards include a sample proficiency standard and examples of actual student work (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction1998). Illinois has a more ambitious project underway that will show teachers numerous actual examples of student responses to open-ended assessment items. Their web site[15] shows scoring rubrics for actual items and then shows how graders have judged the answers using those rubrics. California also sells such materials (Palmquist 1994) in print form, but the beauty of the Illinois materials is that they match their own state standards. Michigan has published a series of booklets that include open-ended and constructed-response assessment items, student responses, and scoring guides. (State Administrative Board 1998) As state assessments move toward these more alternative types of items the pressure will no doubt grow for all states to produce similar materials keyed to their own standards. As teachers work with these materials there is a good chance that they will begin to think differently about how and what they teach.[16]

Any Lasting Impacts?

All innovations, whether simple or complex, seem to follow a similar path. They burst upon the scene like a Fourth of July skyrocket. Innovators embrace them, the media hype them, workshops introduce and install them, and most promise to be the answer to our educational woes. But eventually they fade into the night, leaving a few glowing embers as the next innovation moves into the limelight and the cycle begins anew. We are left to ponder what, if anything, remains of the much-touted innovation?

In the case of the national standards in social studies and history/social science, what impact will they have made when all is said and done? The federal model described at the beginning of this paper has long since faded into the blackness of the night, taking with it any hope of national approval and assessments. Good idea or not, it was not going to happen! But it does appear that the

national standards will have made a lasting impact in at least three areas.

As I have already indicated, many states borrowed heavily from the various standards as they prepared their own frameworks and standards and their standards eventually do get linked to statewide assessments. Not only are these state standards coupled to assessments, they are more manageable then the several inches high stack of national standards documents. And, even more importantly, they have the support of local policy makers. Of course their quality varies, though their "worth" and "goodness" might not reflect the criteria employed by the authors of the Fordham Reports (Munroe & Smith 1998, Saxe 1998). So the idea of national standards and assessments is, at least for now, dead. But state standards linked to state assessments are alive and well. Who knows if we would have had the latter without the former?

The second area where it appears that the national standards will leave their mark, though for how long remains to be seen, is in the arena of instructional materials, especially textbooks. While respondents did not all agree that this would happen, most of the publishers and editors with whom I spoke were confident that such change would come to pass, and indeed, some already had. They indicated they either have or will be aligning their materials with the standards. In some cases this will amount to little more than showing in their promotional materials how their current materials already match up with this or that standard; hardly an impact. But in other cases editors indicate that the next revision of the materials will actually try to incorporate several of the standards. Since these same publishers have previously responded to other trends (e.g., the use of case studies, primary documents, and Internet sites) there is no reason not to take them at their word. And the incentive to make such changes will increase as state assessments are revised to reflect the new state standards, which in turn reflect the national standards.

Like the predictions about future changes in instructional materials, any impact in this third area depends mainly upon inference, so perhaps it is more accurately termed "potential" impact. States are changing their mandatory assessments, placing increasing emphasis on problem solving, on items with more than one right answer, with answers that have varying levels of correctness. Given the expense of such assessments it remains to be seen how many will stay the course, but, to the extent that they do, the national standards deserve some of the credit. Once such assessments become institutionalized teachers will have to change how they teach if their students are to do well on these highly visible indicators, and that has the potential to be the most significant impact of the three!

Was It Worth It?

Several millions of dollars were spent developing national standards in history, geography, civics, and economics, and social studies. Given the likely outcomes, was it worth it? Would we have been better off to spend that money on more up-to-date textbooks, more computers, or teacher salaries? Perhaps, but the politics and economics of education demand that there always be something new on the educational horizon. The standards movement was a response to the demand for more rigor and accountability in the curriculum. One of its short range accomplishments was to allow the educational community to say, "Look, we are working on this problem, so cut us a little slack," an accomplishment of no small importance. Will children actually learn more or learn how to better use what they know? Maybe, it is too early to tell, but a recent international study is not encouraging. (Wolf 1998) Did we learn anything from this exercise in national standards? Again, I think it is too early to tell, though I hope this paper will make a small contribution in that direction.

It is difficult to predict how much staying power standards-driven reform will actually have. Given the amount of money states are investing in writing standards and their related assessments, this movement may have a longer than normal "shelf life" when compared to the typical educational innovation. But unless I am badly mistaken, even standards-driven reform will eventually make way for the next issue, innovation, or fad; for if there is one lesson we learned long ago it is that there will always be something new to replace what is presently considered to be the latest and best.

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Notes

[1] The NCTM standards were published in 1989.

[2] This debate and vote took place on January 18, 1995.

[3] For an example of how many different ways one can look at knowledge about George Washington see: Allen 1997.

[4] A complete listing of all Q-sort items and the breakdown of responses can be found in Appendix A

[5] I see the national standards movement as already on the wane. When Congress cut the funding for the National Board of Standards-Driven Assessment that spelled the beginning of the end for national standards.

[6] These national standards in social studies and the various subjects like history and geography, are simply unrealistic. I honestly doubt that most well educated adults could meet them - why pretend that all or even most students should be able to!

[7] Recently both NCSS (Haas and Laughlin 1997) and the National Center for History in the Schools (1996) published volumes containing lesson ideas consistent with their standards.

[8] The science standards can be accessed at the following Internet address:
http:/www.nap.edu/readingroom/books/nses/

[9] For example, Indiana refers to their standards as "proficiencies".

[10] It is the *process* of developing state and local standards that is important, even when those efforts draw heavily on the content of the various national standards.

[11] I think it really helps reduce the confusion to have standards in specific subject areas such as history, geography, civics, and economics. General social studies standards are OK for elementary schools but the high schools need subject-specific standards.

[12] Only two of the eight respondents agreed with this Q-sort item: The most useful national standards are those dealing with content knowledge rather than those which deal with what I'll call "quality of life" issues such as self-concept, being a better citizen, moral and spiritual issues, and aesthetics.

[13] The NCSS and Civics standards do include several standards of a "citizenship" nature.

[14] These national standards in social studies and the various subjects like history and geography, are simply unrealistic. I honestly doubt that most well educated adults could meet them - why pretend that all or even most students should be able to!

[15] http://www.coe.ilstu.edu/jabraun/braun/professional/sslinks.html

[16] The New Standards Project is built around this philosophy of assessments influencing classroom behavior. Lauren Resnick, one of the Directors of the NSP, put it this way, "...whatever kind of test matters in the system has a heavy influence on classroom practice. In a way we should be celebrating that, don't we want teachers to work hard so that their students will achieve on the assessments that society says matter?" (O'Neil 1993B, p. 17).

Appendix A
Q-SORT ITEMS SHOWING RESPONSES

Item	Very Much Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Very Much Disagree
1 The people in history, geography, and NCSS may have intended for the standards they developed to be statements of what students should know, but to me the most useful aspects of these standards documents is as a source of new lesson ideas for teachers.	1	3	3	1
2 Based upon our experience so far, it is in the area of instructional materials, such as textbooks, where the national standards will eventually have their greatest impact	2	3	1	2
3 The most useful national standards are those dealing with content knowledge rather than those which deal with what I'll call "quality of life" issues such as self-concept being a better citizen, moral and spiritual issues, and aesthetics.	0	2	3	3
4 The worst thing you could do to the whole idea of national standards would be to make them mandatory.	3	3	2	0
5 Look, the problem isn't "what children should know and be able to do?" Most teachers already know that. The real question is, "How do we get them to do it?"	11	3	3	11
6 I see the national standards movement as already on the wane. When Congress cut the funding for the National Board of Standards-Driven Assessment that spelled the beginning of the end for national standards.	11	3	2	2
7 Given the politics of education, once history, geography, and civics began developing their standards, NCSS didn't really have any choice. Even if they don't make much difference in terms of what goes on in the schools, the NCSS standards at least kept social studies from being "odd man out"	3	3	0	1
8 Teachers need to see examples of actual "good" and "bad" student responses to application-type, open-ended assessment items if they are going to help students get better at applying what they know. Just publishing standards isn't going to do it.	5	3	0	0
9 As I see it, national standards are just the old behavioral objectives in a different wrapper.	0	2	0	6
10 Abstract goals and general standards cannot help teachers and parents nearly as much as real examples of actual student work, accompanied by a discussion, "in plain English" of how the quality of those responses differ.	3	3	2	0
11 This whole national standards thing isn't going to amount to much unless the standards get linked to assessment.	4	3	11	0
12 These national standards in social studies and the various subjects like history and geography, are simply unrealistic. I honestly doubt that most well educated adults could meet them - why pretend that all or even most students should be able to!	0	2	4	2
13 It isn't realistic to have one set of standards that ALL students must meet. Instead, we ought to have different levels of standards so that students could strive for excellence in some areas and just satisfactory performance in other areas.	0	2	3	3
14 I think it really helps reduce the confusion to have standards in specific subject areas such as history, geography, civics, and economics. General social studies standards are OK for elementary schools but the high schools need subject-specific standards.	0	3	5	0
15 It doesn't do much good to write standards at the state or federal level. The only standards that mean much **are those worked** out between teachers and their students. **Maybe another way** to put it is to say that you can't write standards for someone else.	0	2	11	5
16 I think the job of writing standards is something that is best left to the state and local districts. It is a mistake to think one can write national, one size-fits-all standards.			4	2
17 The most useful thing the national standards do is to serve as a basis for continuing the discussion regarding what our students should be learning.	6	2	0	0
18 Even if national standards don't lead to increased student knowledge, they will have at least helped us clarify what is important in the curriculum.	7	1	0	0
19 It is the PROCESS of developing state and local standards that is important, even when those efforts draw heavily on the content of the various national standards.	6	2	0	0
20 It was difficult enough to get agreement on standards that indicate what students ought to know. I don't think we could ever agree on how much or how well students ought to know what is called for in the standards.	0	3	3	2
21 It is only fair that students be informed in advance concerning what they need to know and be able to do. Teachers should be very open with students regarding the standards they will eventually have to meet.	8	0	0	0

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Technology and Reform: A Retrospective View

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Introduction

For the past decade the introduction of information technology as an integral part of learning environments has been viewed as one of the cornerstone tools that could transform and reform schools throughout the United States. As a result, during this period the incorporation of technology into a host of educational venues has grown exponentially in scope from mere mechanical presentations of instructional materials to sophisticated courseware structures that allow both teacher and student immediate feedback and continuous management of a variety of learning prescriptions.

Accompanying this growth in the application of technology to learning has been a parallel rise in expenditures in this area. For example, since the early 1980's, when computers were first introduced into schools on a massive scale, more than $3 billion has been spent on hardware, software, teacher training, and connectivity (Fulton, 1998). However, despite the infusion of both machinery and money, there have not been the profound changes in either teaching or learning that many "techno-educators" had envisioned at the onset of this era.

Current Reality

Between 1997 and mid 1998, there were at least a half dozen major reports on the history and use of technology in public education that explored this issue. Ranging from the Wall Street Journal ("Technology," 1997) to Education Week ("Technology Counts," 1997). These publications acknowledge that most schools have greatly increased spending on technology but, at the same time, have not fully utilized the technology that they have, integrated it successfully into all segments of the curriculum, nor have staff trained adequately to use it effectively.

At the same time, in a recent report on teacher training and technology, the Educational Testing Service (1997) noted only 15 percent of teachers, nationwide, relate that they have at least three hours of coursework in technology. Other writers also relate that only 18 states currently require any training, at all, in computers or technology for teacher certification purposes (U.S. Office of Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, 1995).

In a more optimistic summary issued by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1997) on the use of technology in schools, researchers indicate that while the actual training of teachers in instructional technology may be lagging, student and faculty use of technology is increasing. For example, over 81 % of students indicate that they use computers to complete assignments, while, 78% of faculty relate that they use e-mail to communicate to students and colleagues (AACTE, 1997). While questions of levels of training and computer are of import, if we are to utilize technology effectively, a serious look at what students need to know and do with technology must also be examined.

Technology and Learning

There are a variety of research studies that have looked at information literacy and content knowledge. Most, however, focus on relationships between reading and information science (Roblyer, 1998). The only national technology studies in this area, the NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) inquiry on computer competence, centers on knowledge and skills computer usage and does not incorporate content skills.

In addition to the above, there have been scattered studies that tie content, or subject matter, acquisition to technology usage (Jonassen, 1994). These have focused mainly on literacy skills, such as reading, writing, mathematics, or the impact of technology skills on specific subgroups of learners such as special education and at-risk populations. The specific studies that have examined social studies content and technology have focused on

social studies skills (i.e. critical thinking) and technology integration, and not on content, or knowledge, improvement (Jonassen, 1994).

To remedy this problem the President's Panel on Educational Technology believes that "a large scale program of rigorous, systematic research on educational technology will ultimately prove necessary to ensure both the efficacy and cost effectiveness of technology use in our nation's schools" (1997). It goes on to recommend that these expenditures be at the $1.5 billion dollar level on an annual basis and that these studies encompass all subject areas, including the social studies.

This issue has become increasingly significant as recent curriculum reform efforts that resulted in the adoption of content standards have taken root across the country. In many of these, state mandated technology skill development has been directly linked to content area instruction.

For example, in Texas, high school social studies teachers, at all grade levels and in each subject, are now asked to teach database and internet searching skills as part of units that encompass research skills training. While this may be a worthwhile use of bringing together content and skill areas, most current social studies teachers have not been provided either the instructional or research models from which they can draw from to develop meaningful lessons in these areas.

An Instructional Model

While there are a variety of ways to look at how technology can be used in instructional paradigms, Barbara Means (1994) has developed a model from which we can begin to examine this problem. Her schema is based on the way technology can be used for instruction and not on the type of hardware that delivers the message. It also parallels and incorporates many of the curricular reform efforts of the past decade.

In her description, the first level of technological pedagogy ensues when technology is used as a tutor. At this level technology assists in teaching students a set of facts or concepts. Here, tutoring technologies usually incorporate expository learning, and demonstration and practice modes. Thus the use of technology is similar to traditional classroom approaches.

Most of the instructional systems at this level are focused at academic control, instructional delivery, instructional management, or supportive resources issues-all lower level instructional tasks. A comprehensive instructional system at this point, for example, might attempt to integrate all instructional records into an operational process that is functioning continuously for the life, of a course offering or the duration of a student's enrollment. The information is collected at 5 various stages of the educational process and at different times within that process. The stages of data gathering follow the learner sequentially through the instructional process.

Another application of technology to education at this stage is the use of the computer to manage the instructional material and the learners interacting with the instructional system. This application, called Computer Managed Instruction or CMI, is a series of evaluative and prescriptive processes involving the learner, the instructor, and a computerized delivery system in which the computer assumes a significant role in instructional guidance and administrative assistance.

These processes, which are basic to implementation of individualized instruction, are performed by the general functions of diagnostic testing, learning activity prescription, and record generation and maintenance. A CMI system integrates the desires of the learners, the organized system of instruction desired by the instructor, and the speed, accuracy, and power of the computer.

The CMI system is based on a simple principle of modular curriculum construction in which the intended curriculum is organized into instructional segments that lend themselves to easy management. The course of study is divided into modules of varying length. A module is a logical collection of integrated instructional activities on a topic or set of topics in a given academic area. Each module is sub-divided into instructional units of varying length and number. Each unit is a logical collection of learning activities generated from a given set of specific objectives the learner is required to master. The objectives are ordered in some type of hierarchy which will allow learners to progress from the simpler to the more complex objectives in an organized manner as they proceed through the learning activities in the unit.

When a student enters the course a pretest is administered at the module level. This is an attempt to identify which modules the learner has already mastered and which ones the learner will have to study. The pretest is either administered one module at a time or structured in sections so that a score can be generated for each module in the course. Based on the results of this pretest, placement for each student can be determined within each module where mastery was not demonstrated. This level of instructional use of technology is the oldest and most widely used.

The next level of instructional delivery is

occupied by technologies used to explore a domain (Means, 1994). Here, technology is used by students to discover facts and interrelationships between concepts and components in a domain.

At this stage the application of technology to education becomes more sophisticated and, therefore, more expensive. Often this model includes an online, interactive process involving the learner and the delivery system in which the technology assumes a direct instructional role. "On-line" here means that the student is interacting directly with the technology that is operating in a dedicated manner. That is, the lesson is being executed by the system concurrently with the student's execution of the same lesson.

In this instance "interactive process" means that the system presents the learner with information and waits until the learner has had a chance to respond in some manner. The system continues to present appropriate information based on the student's last responses within the lesson. This cycle is continued through the students contact time with the system.

At Mean's third level, technologies are used as tools. Here technologies are not designed to explicitly promote learning, rather they are applied such that they support intellectual activities. Examples of these are the use of data bases, spreadsheets, presentation packages, and applications of internet research skills to subject matter areas such as those that encompass the social studies.

The final category in this schema is learning to use technology as a means of communication. Learning how to facilitate the sharing of information, via e-mail, through distance learning devices such as interactive television, or by understanding the many uses of the Internet are encompassed here.

Each of these modalities should be part of any instructional system that supports technology. All facilitate the development and review of content oriented instructional materials. Each supports the exploration of endless sets of content based topics while providing tools to create and organize content. Finally, they all support a high level of cooperative and interpersonal communication. All of these concepts are inherent in good social studies instruction.

Hoped For Effects - Schools, Students, and Teachers

While the initial effects of information technology on schools are not where many of its proponents had hoped it might be at this juncture, there have been some interesting outcomes. For example, could schools, at any level, function without the use of technology in the administration of school? Because of the unique abilities of current technologies and the software they incorporate we can store information about students and retrieve that information much more rapidly and much more efficiently than we ever could. The result is that now schools can offer a wider range of learning options to students than ever before.

For example, in social studies classrooms skill development exercises incorporating the application of technology constructs might be offered. One of these skills could center on making decisions using information stored and retrieved from the internet or other data bases. Here a student would not focus on memorizing information but would instead concentrate on how to obtain and use it through an individual decision making process. In this learning sequence the student is no longer a repository of information but rather an organizer of knowledge.

The changes brought on by the onset of the information technology age and the changing role of the teacher are equally important. When incorporating technology in the classroom the teacher's function moves beyond the traditional role of merely presenting information towards one that evaluates the students' attainment of that information. The teacher now becomes an organizer of information as well as a presenter and evaluator of the same.

To maintain these changes, schools have had to embark on new types of computer literacy programs for both students and teachers beyond those that simply taught hardware skills and low level computer languages. Since technology has become a central learning and economic tool, students must learn how to use and apply information technology throughout the curriculum beginning at school induction.

Concluding Thoughts

Technology is not a panacea for education; it will not solve all problems; it will not create heaven on earth. Research indicates that it in order for technology to have any real effect it must be incorporated into instruction on an ongoing basis (Diem, 1996).

Information technology is a powerful tool that has extended the power of instruction in ways beyond our imaginations and into our dreams. CD-roms, hard drives, interactive web-based instruction; these are terms unheard of a mere twenty years ago. As we await the next century, these will

become ancient artifacts as the next round of technology breakthroughs appear?

However, before looking too hard at the future we still need to offer systematic learning opportunities that incorporate technology in our present classrooms; especially in the social studies. These need to be provided to all students on a continuum that begins when they first enter schools. Included in this effort should be technological equity, content application, and ongoing evaluation of performance. Until these are realized, all the new technologies that may be unveiled will have little or no effect on transforming schools. Instead, they will join other school based reform efforts that fell far short of the promises held for them.

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SSEC 19,3

If the Internet is the Answer, What is the Question?

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The good news is that the Internet exists.[1] The bad news is that there are a number of questions about how it should be used in the teaching of social studies. "How can I use the Internet to teach social studies?" is often asked. It is the wrong question because it implies there is a simple answer.

There is no simple answer to the important issues about teaching social studies using the Internet. Like everything else about good teaching, success lies in the detailed way with which specific conditions are dealt. There are far too many of these to cover in a short article. Some of the critical conditions are:

- The part (concept or skill) of the social studies that is to be taught;
- The ability of the student to learn (readiness);
- The level of computer skills of the student;
- The resources (software, information, games) appropriate to the relevant social studies material that are on the Internet;
- The availability of computer time;
- The ability of the teacher to utilize the computer in the context of a sound and meaningful social studies curriculum.

There are many books and articles about each of these topics. This article comments on selected aspects of them that appear to be neglected in the literature about using the computer in the teaching of the social studies. The aim is to sharpen the discussion and focus it in ways that might lead to a better resolution of some problems.

Jack R. Fraenkel was right in his approach to questions when he wrote, "that there are several different types of questions which teachers may ask, depending upon what purposes they have in mind. In this sense, the 'right' questions are those which assist the teacher in achieving a particular objective or set of objectives he considers important. Unfortunately, far too many teachers have no purpose in mind." (301) Murry R. Nelson made the point for this paper when he wrote, "When something as new as the computer comes into the classroom, it presents educators with many new questions." (255)

The central question is "What makes the Internet so much better for the teaching of the social studies that it should replace some of the resources teachers are now using?" "Better" should mean that, in the eyes of those competent to judge, it provides more efficient ways of learning from the point of view of the stakeholders in the educational process.[2]

Good Citizenship and Civic-moral Education

One of the goals of the social studies has always been good citizenship and civic-moral education of some kind. The problem with these goals is that there has never been consensus either on what they are or what they mean in behavioral terms. Statements of them are always the result of compromise and there are no good studies which relate actual behavior as a citizen to training in this tradition of the social studies. Without entering into the controversies surrounding these compromises, there is again both good new and bad news for using the Internet.

The good news is that students can be taught the behavior that good citizenship on the Internet requires. The bad news is that the Internet has little high quality or well evaluated basic social science materials, the knowledge of which is required for good citizenship.[3]

For example, intelligent political action must rest on some knowledge of political science. But the situation in political science has not changed much in the last decade when, one of the findings of a survey was, "Perhaps the central problem for the development of high quality software for political education is that no well-qualified and professional political scientists have contributed their knowledge or expertise to this field. Their absence is the main reason for the content problems of the material." (Senn, 1989, 277)

A pre-condition for any use of the Internet is student competence with the computer. Using the computer is an important social skill when it facilitates communication. Just acquainting the students with the Internet will serve them well for the rest of their lives. But computer skills can be learned in many situations not unique to the social studies. It is also possible that some of the computer skills may not be compatible with the goals of the social studies material. For example, studies have shown that in some situations about a third of those surveyed use the computer to avoid face to face communication.

Another prerequisite for those who would use the Internet to teach social studies is an understanding of acceptable use policies (henceforth, AUP). Two important issues teachers face are liability and child safety. There are many excellent sources of examples of AUP policies on the Internet.

Important distinctions for civic-moral education are those between actual and desired behavior and the rules and reasons for the behavior. The teacher should always closely monitor student activity on the Internet. Improper behavior can then be corrected on the spot.

A Few Other Questions

The following questions are not in any necessary order of importance. In the spirit of this article, they raise issues that seem to have been relatively neglected in the literature about teaching the social studies using the Internet.[4]

What is to be done about teacher training? Without much staff development and teacher training, we cannot expect the Internet to be of much use for the social studies. Once more, there is a vast literature on teacher training. It does not seem to adequately emphasize that staff development for using the computer must be of a different kind than is now common.

It has to be focused on the dual issues of more sharply defining the social studies concepts to be taught and the very specific activities that will lead to improved student learning using the Internet. It will have to be part of a larger process aimed at the systemic change of the way some parts of the social studies is taught using the computer.[5]

What should be included and what left out of pedagogical discussions? The Internet has imposed a new set of conditions for discussion of pedagogical subjects. There is now so much material available on most subjects that the old intellectual adversarial game of pointing out missed resources can no longer be played. There is now no set of experts that must be referenced on most subjects. The goals and subject of any discussion must now be more sharply defined if elementary logical criteria are to hold.

Is the teacher competent and comfortable using the Internet for better teaching and learning? When the teacher can use the Internet comfortably, then she will be able to make her students comfortable with it. Once that happens, the door is open to a new world.

How should the educator take gender issues into account?[6] Gender differences are relevant for both teacher and student. There is substantial evidence that women and girls do not enjoy learning about computers as much as do men and boys. Special attention must be given to this in the choice and development of teaching strategies.

What can be done in the presence of ethnic and cultural diversity? There is a large body of research that suggests students from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds react differently to exposure to computers. Does this mean that some students will have to be given more attention than others? Much remains to be learned about how to deal wit this issue.

How reliable is the information on the Internet? The Internet is an open system. Pornography and instructions for making bombs are easily accessible. Extremists of all kinds, including fascists and communists, propagandize. There is no control over the quality of the material. It is rife with copyright infringement. There is no threshold for either taste or skill. The teacher must pay close attention to what the students are actually doing. There are many good checklists for evaluating information on the Internet.[7]

Under what conditions should a teacher use the Internet? The most valuable resource students and teachers have is time. How many students and teachers have extra time at school or at home? Is time really well spent when waiting through advertisements or animations to get information that is easily and quickly available in the library? What are students learning while they wait? Unless whatever is done with the Internet frees up time in the sense that it is the fastest or only way to achieve a pedagogical goal, do not use the Internet, or at least think twice about it.

How far can we let the students roam? How do we keep them on track? Instruction does not consist only of information. It is difficult to find specific information on the Internet.[8] As a headline in the *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed, "Web's Vastness Foils Even Best Search Engines." (B1)

Using the AltaVista online search engine, and English as the language the term "travel" produced more than 2,434, 193 entries. (http://altavista.digital.com/, February 12, 1998) This is not information. It is noise. What is needed is fast rule processors (software) and intelligent agents which seek out and gather the kind of material appropriate to the content of the social studies.

What kind of materials or skills can best be learned using the Internet? The Internet can be used both as a tool for learning and for the delivery of content.

What teaching methods and strategies does the Internet support or complement? Certainly not all of them and some only incompletely. For example, Is there any need for it when using Socratic or lecture based methods? Teaching strategies where the infusion of new material is critical for thinking find it a powerful help.

How can the Internet be most effectively utilized within the different traditions of the social studies? It is not at all clear that all the traditions are equally supported on the Internet. Problem based learning, for example, requires the gathering of information, of which the Internet has plenty. The Internet is also full of material for use in the different values analysis traditions.

What is the role of chat groups in teaching social studies on the Internet? One should be careful about using chat groups. Most often they are not controlled. The Internet is not free. Someone pays for it. In the case of chat groups the money most often comes from advertising. If a commercial site does not make money, it will be dropped sooner or later. Even publicly supported sites change.

Where do such useful but prosaic tools as e-mail (and soon to come faxing and voice mail) fit into teaching using the Internet? According to one article "A Third Of College Courses Use E-Mail" (October 17, 1997). Other research suggests it might be used productively in the lower grades.

What do we mean by the term "technology"? There is much discussion about technology in the social studies literature. But this literature is very confused about two quite different kinds of technology. One is related to things, the other to techniques. The products and the processes associated with them are very different. See Appendix D, "A Note On Social Technology."

What changes in classroom management will be required? About one third of all students, on the average, have access to a computer at home. This gives them a great advantage over those students who do not. Limited time on the computer is an important educational constraint.

How can we get better software? On a different level of abstraction but related to many of the questions is software, the set of instructions that control the operation of a computer. These instructions are grouped together in programs. Too often technical, not pedagogical, considerations have driven the construction of student materials on the Internet. Designers focus on what they can and cannot do, not on what should be done.

This situation will only be remedied when new teams involving social scientists, programmers, and pedagogical specialists are put together. This will take much money and a long time.

What have we learned from a decade of using computers in the social studies? We have learned much about the use of computers in general but there is little reliable knowledge about their use in the social studies.

Conclusions

The good news is that the Internet is unregulated. Neither the heavy hand of the government censors nor the fads of the politically correct nor the constraints of prescribed curriculum determine its content. The bad news is that the Internet is unregulated. There are no standards for what is on it. The teacher is the judge and jury. Much more teacher training is required for its effective use.

The only way to ensure that computers will have a positive impact on the teaching of the social studies is by training teachers how to utilize the technology in ways that integrate sound instructional goals. But no large-scale teacher training program will make much sense until after there are answers to many of the questions above. Sound answers will require a team made up of social scientists, computer experts and curriculum developers.

Although other approaches to changing the way social studies are taught may be amusing, interesting and, occasionally, necessary or enlightening, they can never approach the utility of methods based on solid research and teachers trained in their use. The Internet has highlighted serious, long-standing and incompletely resolved issues that afflict the social studies.

The techno-optimist, Peter H. Martorella was right when he wrote, "There is much for the giant [technology] to do with respect to the social studies curriculum." (511) The Internet is a technological tool of great promise. Until there are better answers to many of the questions above, this promise cannot be realized. Unless the answers to these questions, are informed by our highest values

and purposes they will not be satisfactory. Answers must be sought in the light of universal humanitarian aims based on a solid foundation of ethics.

John Ulric Nef (b 1899) drew our attention to another, often neglected set of considerations. For him, "the object of every proposal for improvement should be judged by the contribution it would make to truth, virtue and beauty." (267) For social studies educators to claim a place for social studies as worthwhile and humane they must not neglect "the values of tenderness, of kindliness, of human intimacy and love." (Quoting Bronowski, 271) The important questions are those of what should be done, and how.

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Notes

[1] The Internet is a world wide collection of computers that are interconnected in such a way that they can communicate with each other. The World Wide Web, [henceforth WWW or Web] is a part of it. The WWW accommodates a wide range of materials. It is built on software that uses a hypertext based system for browsing, searching, retrieving and accessing text, hypertext, graphics, video clips and sound files on the Internet.

[2] The main stakeholders for this level of discussion are the students and the teachers. There are others; the school administrators, the parents, those who support the school system (taxpayers) and the federal and local governments.

[3] But there is hope in another direction. Braun et. al. have admirably summarized four traditions of civic-moral education and some possibilities for using the computer within those traditions. (292-298) One of them, problem-based learning, has especial promise. As Risinger, in the quotation at the beginning of the paper, points out, there is much material that fits some of these traditions.

[4] A useful link to acceptable use policies is http://www.frontiernet.net/~wflsls/acceptab.htm/ (February 08, 1998). It provides many jumping off spots to specific AUP information, as well as links to discussions of legal and ethical issues. Not much attention has been paid among social studies teachers to the proper use of the massive capital investments the Internet represents. Notice that Internet addresses should always be dated. This is because they frequently change.

[5] Obviously, it will have to address the needs of the teacher, the student and, too often neglected, the needs of the organization. By the organization is meant those in the social structure of the school system, including the school personnel, the school board, parents and the taxpayers - the major stake-holders in education in the social studies. Too often the demands they make are not carefully taken into account. Those who pay for a service, the taxpayers who pay for the schools, have a right to a say in what goes on in those schools. In a more fundamental sense, the organization is a prerequisite for the existence of the schools. It has its own demands and these are not necessarily the same as those of the teachers, the students or the other school personnel.

[6] Although we cannot be sure, some estimates hold that about a third of the content of the Internet is pornography of one kind or another. It has also proven a place for child abusers to meet their victims. It goes

without saying that schools will do their best to screen this material.

There is another important issue about sex on the Internet. It is related to the substantial differences between girls and boys with respect to how they like the Internet, how they use it, and most likely, how they learn about and from it.

[7] This issue must be distinguished from that of the reliability of the Internet itself. Buggy software, power outages, slowdowns, garbled transmissions and often changing sites are but some of the reasons that using it for critical applications is risky.

[8] There are now many thousands of lesson plans and many millions of web sites and documents on the Internet. The techno-skeptic David Shenk warns us to stop thinking that the Internet will solve problems in education. He thinks that "Data Smog" -information glut- is the single biggest threat facing computer users today. Another real problem for students and teachers alike is unfamiliar terminology. Poor screen design which offers few clues to what the site is, what it offers and how to get to the home page are too often encountered.

SSEC 1998

Electronic Technology and the Future of Social Studies in Elementary and Secondary Schools

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A discussion of possible connections between electronic technology and social studies reform must start with the obvious: By whatever name it is called, this is an age of electronic technology. We are each a part of it, whether an Internet addict who shuns his family to surf the World Wide Web or a computer-hater who enjoys the convenience of paying for groceries via electronic credit card processing.

Some have called this the Information Age, based largely on estimates that up to 50 percent of the work force will soon be involved in gathering, processing, retrieving, or analyzing information. However, as Richard Zare (1997) has pointed out, that label is too limited. He prefers, "an age of 'knowledge and distributed intelligence'," to encapsulate the power of electronic processing by which (in somewhat of a dramatic overstatement) "knowledge is available to everyone, located anywhere, at any time," with "power, information, and control.... moving from centralized systems to individuals" (p. 1074).

Not only is this an age of electronic technology, but it is a time of unprecedented technological change. Change is so rapid that a person has to wonder whether data (for example, about computer usage) or information (for example, about computer applications) from an article one year old, much less five years old, is still valid. A sidebar in Newsweek ("Reeling in the Years," 1998) made that point with data on the length of time from technology invention to use by one-fourth of the USA population. For electricity, there was a 46-year span, from 1873 to 1919; for the telephone, 35 years, from 1876-1911; for radio, 22 years, 1906-1928; for television, 26 years, 1926-1952; for the personal computer, 16 years, 1975-1991; and for the Web, 7 years, 1991-1998. And those numbers are only frame. They do not reflect the continual, daily barrage of information about new electronic consumer products and the scientific and commercial applications of electronic technologies, along with the accounts of calamities (such as the AOL overload and Galaxy satellite failure) and threats of disaster (e.g., air traffic computer overload and the Year 2000 Millennium Bug). As Fontana, (1997) noted, with ongoing commercial and governmental efforts to "build a new global communications network. . . [that] will integrate technological breakthroughs in both wired and wireless technology. . . , the current Internet and global satellite systems give us only a glimpse at what is to come" (p. 2).

At the same time, educators are cautioned "against embracing [information] technology with abandon" ("The Future of Technology," p. 1). They are warned about "technology as religion," that is, about an unexamined commitment to technological progress as commensurate with human progress (Cordes, 1994). And they are reminded that technologies have never been the educational panaceas that advocates have argued they would be (Kerr, 1996).

Within these seemingly paradoxical themes-that is, rapid and unforseeable technological change and impact, on the one hand, and caution based on unfulfilled expectations in the past, on the other—what is the future of social studies education (in schools, not what social studies "experts" write and present papers about) in the electronic age of knowledge and distributed intelligence? Will it differ markedly from the past record of general stability of instruction in social studies classrooms (Cuban, 1991; Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1979)? In particular, will electronic technology influence and be used as a vehicle for social studies reform?

The apparently contradictory titles of a book chapter, Marshall McLuhan's (1964) "The Medium is the Message," and an article, Richard Clark's (1994) "Media Will Never Influence Learning," set a context for the consideration of these questions.

Technology As Teacher

From one perspective, McLuhan (1964) argued that if a researcher studied the content of a medium, such as Schramm did (Schramm, Lyle, & Parker, 1961) in his research on the effects of television on children, and not "the peculiar nature of the TV image" (p. 19), the research would yield nothing of consequence. However, in a series of chapters and articles, Clark (1983, 1994; Clark and Salomon, 1986) has persuasively argued that those doing research on the effects of media on student achievement have confounded medium with content and instructional method, and it is the method and content, not the vehicle for delivery, that influence learning. The medium is sufficient, but not necessary for learning; different media will accomplish the same learning objectives. So, "it cannot be argued that any given medium or attribute must be present for learning to occur, only that certain media and attributes are more efficient for certain learners, learning goals, and tasks" (1994, p. 2).

In short, according to Clark (1994), there is "no compelling evidence in the past 70 years of published and unpublished research that media cause learning under any conditions" (p. 25). Although certain attributes-such as animated motion or zooming-may facilitate the learning of some students, media are delivery vehicles and do not have a direct influence on learning, any more than the type of truck used to deliver groceries affects the consumer's nutrition (or sending a scholarly paper by snail mail or fax affects its content). Methods of delivery may, in Clark's view, influence the cost, the efficiency, or the extent of distribution of learning, but it is the content, including instructional method, that influences student achievement. Instructional method-like the medication that might be delivered by tablet, capsule, or liquid-is the active ingredient, not the medium. Media attributes are surface features; they may influence the economics of instruction, but not its effectiveness in influencing learning.

What about meta-analyses that indicate positive media effects on student achievement? Clark and Salomon (1986) found that a standardized mean difference (**SDM**) of .5 for final examination mean scores in studies of computer-based college instruction shrank to .13 when the only studies included were those in which the same teacher planned and presented both the conventional and the computer-based course. Eight years later, Clark (1994) revisited the issue of meta-analytic results for comparisons of traditional and media-based, particularly computer-based, instruction. An advantage of approximately 20% in mean test scores had been reported for computer-based instruction. Clark reanalyzed a subset of studies from a major meta-analysis, constituting the 30% of studies in which the same instructional design group produced the computer-based instruction and presented the live instruction. The reanalysis yielded no achievement difference; once content and teaching method were controlled, the apparent technology effect disappeared.

Kerr (1996), Krendl, Ware, Reid, and Warren (1996), and Windschitl (1998) have concurred with Clark that the confounding of content and instructional method is a serious deficiency in research on the effects of media, including computers, on student achievement. As Clark and Salomon (1986, p. 47) pointed out, the new technology investigated in research projects is likely to be more effective than prior classroom teaching or technology because the materials are better prepared. Aside from a novelty effect, the beneficial effects on student learning are due to instructional design, not the inherent qualities of the technology.

Clark's conclusion that it is content and teaching method, not media, that make the difference in student achievement on tests does not deny all positive effects of electronic technology in instruction. For example, Pahl (1996) noted different climates in history classrooms that were "computer-based," rather than "chalk-and-talk" (p. 348). In such classrooms, Pahl observed, the teacher is no longer the focal point, but becomes an assistant; the noise level is high due to students assisting one another; the motivation to be involved is high and discipline problems rarely arise; and low achieving students show off their products to their parents at school-parent nights.

Pahl's conclusions about student attitudes and behavior are consistent with my own evaluations of computer writing labs. In an evaluation of seven projects (Shaver, 1986), for example, we found that with computer labs, students wrote more, had better attitudes toward writing (when it was done on a computer), and were more likely to ask for and give writing assistance. However, consistent with Clark's conclusion, the impact on quality of writing, as assessed through holistic evaluations of student writing samples, was mixed and inconsistent.

To sum up, some researchers have concluded that the confounding of medium and instructional design has led to erroneous conclusions about the instructional effectiveness of technology. Clark (1994) labeled instructional media research "a triumph of enthusiasm over substantive examina-

tion of structural processes in learning and instruction" (p. 27). He noted that the fervent advocates of technology encourage educators "to begin with educational *solutions* and search for problems that can be solved by those solutions. ... [They] begin with an enthusiasm ... and search for a sufficient and visible context in which to establish evidence for [the] solution" (p. 28, italics in the original). Could this be the story of electronic technology in social studies reform? Or is the current "technology boom" different? How about the Internet and its derivative, the World Wide Web?

The Internet/Web as Educator

The Internet and Web are the hot new topics of social studies technologists, and not surprising, given the extent to which both have pervaded societal consciousness. True, the Internet and Web provide rapid local and worldwide communication and access to vast amounts of information. Also true, their use can be terribly time-consuming and frustrating, even if one has up-to-date computer capacity, often yielding an overabundance of information and information of doubtful validity.

Anyone can put anything on a Web site, with none of the constraints of peer review or editorial oversight. As Risinger noted (1998), "the real problem [in drawing on the rich resources of the Internet] is information evaluation and validation" (p. 148). Although there are "incredible" resources on the Internet, and they are expanding rapidly, "there is probably more junk and stale sites... than good ones" (SSEC, 1997, p. 8). Even Web-based medical science reports are risky sources. A recent review of 60 Web pages sponsored by "major medical centers..., "among our finest,"' found that four-fifths yielded inaccurate information, characterized as "garbage." The probable bases for the problem are that scientists did not create and manage the Web sites, and the pages are not peer reviewed (Kieman, 1998b).

In his anecdotal report on the effects of the Web on college students' writing, Rothenberg (1997) highlighted the concern with instant, but dubious information. Admittedly "as enchanted as anyone else by the potential of this new technology" (p. A44), he nevertheless lamented the Web's negative impacts on writing quality and originality. Research papers based on the Web are easy to spot, Rothenberg claimed: Books are not cited, just articles and Web sites. The material is often "curiously" out-of-date.[1] Beautiful pictures and graphs that are not directly related to the paper's content are inserted neatly as if they actually represented the student's own work, and are often accompanied by unattributed quotes and detailed references to Web-type information government reports, "corporate propaganda, or... commentary by people whose credibility is difficult to assess," but with few references to "careful, in-depth" sources. As Barrie and Presti (1996) suggested about the Web, along with the educational advantage of accessing large amounts of information in general or on specific topics, "comes the inherent drawback [of] no reliable editor to raise the signal-to-noise ratio of information" (p. 372).

The effectiveness of the available Web search engines is also open to question. Rothenberg (1997) claimed that the engines, "with their half-baked algorithms, are closer to slot machines than library catalogues." Lawrence and Giles (1998, p. 100) estimated that the "indexable Web," a subset of the total Web, currently contains at least 320 million pages. (*Newsweek's* estimate was almost one-third less, at 220 million pages ["Driving the Web," 1998].) It is estimated that in the short term, that is, the next two to three years, there will be a tenfold increase in the number of Web pages (Office of Computer Services, 1998, p. 1). Hyman Hirsh, a computer scientist at Rutgers University —i.e., a university professor, not an elementary or secondary school teacher—has referred to the Web as "an unorganized, uncoordinated collection of information that is totally overwhelming" (Office of Computer Services, 1998, p. 1).

Lawrence and Giles (1998) checked out the assumption that six "major full-text search engines... index largely the same documents [which are] a relatively large proportion of the Web" (p. 98), by analyzing searches conducted by scientists at the NEC Research Institute. They found that the individual engines captured 3% to 34% of the indexable Web, the engine that yielded the most up-to-date pages did not necessarily yield the most comprehensive set of documents, and from 1.6% to 5.0% of the documents were not valid because the page no longer existed or had been moved to another site. Combining the six search engines led to about 3.5 times as much Web coverage as from any one engine. The individual engines, graded on an A - F scale, were all given F grades.

Is the Web-search situation hopeless? Lawrence and Giles (1998) recommended the use of "meta search engines" that combine the results from several engines or the combination of search engines and automated online search. They also suggested "the creation of a search engine designed to keep up-to-date indexes important to scientists" (p. 100). Indexes important to other sets

of users will be needed as well. Sounds like librarians' work! Think of walking into a library with over 320 million documents and no card (on line) catalog.

Will these difficulties with the Internet as an information source be resolved? "Perhaps" is not an unreasonable response; however, "probably" is likely more valid. In any event, the problems of information overload and of location, retrieval, and evaluation of information sources are not new,[2] even though exacerbated by the Internet. They are, nevertheless, significant context for the consideration of the potential impacts of the Internet and Web on social studies education.

Internet/Web Research

What does educational research indicate about the potential of the Internet and Web as integral elements of the electronic technology available for instruction? According to Windschitl (1998), not much. To date, the reported research has been primarily descriptions of the classroom implementation of technology or "intuitive analyses of what works and doesn't work with students" (p. 28). The critical questions about impacts on students or on pedagogy have not been addressed.

As Windshitl (1998) pointed out, the computer brings to education a technological ability to store, sort, and analyze information that, as an ideal, can "help free learners, from tedious, low level tasks" (and thus lead them to lose touch with the data, as often happens with researchers doing computer data analyses?), allowing them to "concentrate on higher-order tasks" (p. 29). The Web, on the other hand, at least as currently constituted and used, "is less a transformer of data or processor of symbol systems. . . [than] a conduit to other people's information" (p. 29) and, of course, misinformation. The Web's capabilities are extensions of computer capability, offering "advantages... of efficiency and scope rather than unique affordances" to the student, teacher, or curriculum. The Web can be used to support either traditional or innovative models of teaching. Despite the increased and quicker access to information and the imagery sometimes available that should be useful in promoting inquiry learning, "it is difficult to claim that there are any *truly novel* aspects of Web-based learning" (p. 29, italics in original). In fact, Windschitl (1998) noted, it will be crucial in research and teaching not to confuse accessing information with learning and not to confound the effects of using technology with the effects of using information. Not surprisingly, Windshitl opined that although we do not know yet what the classroom effects of the Web will be, Clark (1994) may be correct that the computer is no more than another medium, not to be confused with content, and that, by extension, the Web is simply another means of offering varied content.

The above is summed up well by Ruth's (1997) conclusion after designing and teaching an undergraduate business computer-applications course "using every possible new technology available" at George Mason University. Included were the "World Wide Web, Internet, CD-Roms, audiocassettes and videocassettes, distance education, touch-screen multimedia training, autodidact teaching systems for learning spreadsheets and database programming, and many more" (p. 33). Lectures were for the most part on TV, audiocassettes, or in cyberspace; student classroom time was reduced to 12 hours; writing and practice using information technologies were extensive; and students could present their research projects using the campus TV studio. The course was more difficult, with a graduate-level textbook, but the model was different as well, including a focus on "students as discovers, not receptacles." The result? "The students did a lot more than is usually required-and they loved it.... They worked better, learned more and we even reduced the unit cost of course delivery" (p. 33). A major success for technology! Not true, according to Ruth (1997):

> As one who threw everything but the technological equivalent of the kitchen sink at the problem I was surprised at how little was new. . . . [Technology was] definitely a player but a bit player, not a star. In other words, I have visited the promised land of technology and I have found it helps, but it is not the main answer. Good content and good teaching, along with a model of the students as discovers, not as receptacles-is what makes the difference. (p. 36)

So, Where Are We?

The above call for caution is not meant to deny the potential for applications of electronic technology in social studies education, but to emphasize that the technology itself is not likely to be a fruitful basis for reform. The need for thoughtful curriculum development and careful instructional design, based on the thorough and on-going explication of assumptions about society, learners, and learning, are as critical to the productive use of electronic technology as to any other teaching mode.

Of course, the technology onslaught brings with it new dimensions of rationale and curriculum building. For example, the technological enthusiasm of some educators may need to be tempered

with questions such as that posed by Neil Postman, as to whether "schooling, particularly for young children, is... about giving kids information [or about] teaching young children how to behave in groups. . . to turn narcissistic children into a public" ("The Future of Technology," 1993, p. 1). Or, such as, what are the curricular implications of virtual (i.e., online) versus real (i.e., in person) communities (Etzioni & Etzioni, 1997)? Here we begin to explore implications for modes of thought and interaction that go beyond issues of test achievement.

The keys to educational reform are many, including teacher education that is thought provoking, rather than geared primarily to the practical matters of lesson planning, classroom management, and textbook, or software, embellishment, and thereby a perpetuator of the status quo in schools; capable, reflective teachers; time for teachers to plan and develop curricula, and assistance in doing so; moral support from other teachers, school administrators, and the public, all of whom are more likely to be more attuned to school stability than to curricular change; and appropriate, usable curricular materials. In particular, financial resources-i.e., the fiscal and economic realities of public schools in the USA-are critical to a consideration of electronic technology and the future of social studies.

Technological Realities

As Diem (1997) noted, by Spring 1995, there were an estimated 5. 8 million personal computers available for instruction in USA schools. Diem also reported "literally thousands of [software] products. . . available for social studies and civics classrooms" (p. 101). These figures might seem to suggest the potential for a heady role for technology in the future of social studies. Risinger's (1998) observations that how to use the Web was the most frequently requested workshop from Indiana University's Office of Professional Development and that "professional journals and conferences are filled with articles and presentations on the subject" (p. 110), along with Windshitl's (1998) observation that "educators. . . have developed wave after wave of special classroom activities and collaborative projects based on use of the Internet" (p. 28), might also be taken to suggest that the future of technology in social studies is here. The reality, however, is quite different.

Although examples of exemplary applications of electronic technology, including classroom computer use, in USA schools can be found (e.g., US Congress, Office of Technology Assessment [OTA], 1995, pp. 10-11; Panel on Educational Technology of the President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology [Panel]. 1997, p. 8), they are not typical. The several reasons for that state of affairs are largely fiscally and economically based.

Computer Availability

The projection of 5.8 million instructionally available computers in USA schools by Spring 1995 translated into an average of about one computer for every nine students (OTA, 1995, p. 1). The ratio of computers to students went from 1: 125 in 1983-84 to 1: 10.5 in 1994 -95, still far short of the 1:4 or 1:5 ratio considered minimal (Panel, 1997, pp. 8-9). That level of instructional computer availability has been achieved by only a small minority of public schools in this country. (Note, too, that with the current interest in advanced technology, the need for "small" technology-telephone, including voice mail and fax machines; calculators, television sets and VCRs; camcorders and editing tools-is often overlooked.[3])

The adequacy of one computer to ten students must be considered in light of the typical computer placement. In most schools, the majority of computers are located in computer labs. If there is a modem on a computer, it is usually in the principal's office. With careful scheduling, labs are a cost-effective way to make a limited number of computers available for instruction. It is, however, difficult to use the computers intermittently as an integral part of instruction. I found in my evaluations of computer writing labs (Shaver, 1986) that the computer lab was often not available when the class had reached a "writing moment," and difficult management problems faced teachers when there were not enough computers in the lab for an entire class of students. Also, a modem in the principal's office is typically not accessible for instruction.

Scheduling is complicated by the fact that the computer labs tend to be used primarily for skill practice at the elementary level and for computer education (teaching word processing, spread sheet use, computer programming) at the secondary level, with only about 30% of the time available for use by subject-matter teachers. Only 9% of students in one survey reported using computers in English, 6% to 7% in mathematics, and 3% in social studies (where teachers also have reported difficulty in scheduling computer use [Giese, 1997, p. 2; Social Science Education Consortium {SSEC}, 1997, p. 2]).

Although about 50% of teachers have at least one computer in their classroom, very few have more than two, so, use by individual students and by student groups is impractical. Not surprisingly, computer use in public schools has been reported by computer coordinators as only two hours per student per week, but as less by the students themselves (OTA, 1995, p. 20; Panel, 1997, pp. 9, 14).

Computer Adequacy

Aside from a shortfall of computers, those that are available present a major usage problem. In 1995, about one-half of the computers in USA public schools were old 8-bit machines that could not handle CD-ROM sized databases, support network-integrated systems, be used to run complex software. In fact, most public school computer systems "would be considered obsolete by private sector standards" (OTA, 1995, p. 18). A 1992 survey indicated that only 20% of school computers had hard disk drives and nearly 90% of printers were dot matrix, and so were limited in speed and quality. Surely this situation is changing, but how fast? In 1997, Robert Samuelson reported that his daughter attending school in Montgomery County, Maryland, which in 1993 was the tenth highest county in the country in household income, was still using Apple IIes, of mid-1980s vintage, in her computer class. The situation today? Thomas, Creel, and Day (1998) referred to "converting a massive field trip database from an old Apple IIe computer to one consistent with the newer computers *coming into* our [Montgomery County] schools" (p. 154, italics added).

Why don't school districts across the country purchase and install adequate numbers of up-to-date computers? Samuelson (1997) estimated the cost of providing a computer for every four students in the USA, plus the provision of teacher training, at $ 10 to $ 15 billion annually. The cost of one-time installation and the teacher training to have one personal computer per school, plus a modem connected to the Internet through a district-based file server, was estimated in 1995 to be $.08 billion; the cost to have a computer per student was estimated at $145 billion; annual operating costs, including teacher training and support, were estimated to be from $.16 to $11.28 billion, respectively (OTA, 1995, pp. 21, 24). The cost of electronic technology in "leader schools" has been reported as from $142 to $415 per student each year (Panel, 1997, p. 19).

It is estimated-that the purchase price of a computer system is only 20 to 25% of its life cycle cost; installation, training, systems administration, user support, hardware and software maintenance constitute the other 75% to 80% of the cost. The cost of maintenance, of course, increases over time. That is a serious consideration in public education where five years is a short computer-replacement cycle compared to the three years or less in business and industry. Maintenance costs are also related to the numbers of components and connections between them, a problem with the older public-school hardware (Panel, 1997, pp. 9,11).

The donation of used computers, and other equipment by businesses at their replacement time, sometimes proposed as a form of volunteerism, is no solution for schools. The equipment would be at least one generation behind and the net effect would be increased costs, because different platforms would have to be integrated in most cases and because of the maintenance of aging equipment.

The costs associated with the provision of adequate numbers of computers for use as an integral part of the public school curriculum, including social studies, are not insignificant, especially in light of the public's general lack of willingness to support tax increases for public education.

Internet Access

Access to the Internet and the Web is also in short supply. In 1997, it was reported that only about 50% of schools had at least one connection to the Internet, and it was used little by teachers (about 16% reported use of the Internet or other online services) and typically was unavailable to students (Panel, 1997, pp. 10-11). This situation is not surprising, given the lack of telephone connections in classrooms-as noted above, available only in 1 in 8 classrooms. The absence of telephones is not only due to cost, but to the anticipation by many principals that telephone availability to teachers would be disruptive, giving teachers greater control of communications with parents, and to the fear of teacher misuse (OTA, 1995, p. 39). In general, too, the building infrastructure that university professors might take for granted is missing, not anticipated during construction and very expensive to install now.

Needed are not only telephone lines and jacks in classrooms, but fiber optic cable and the conduits and raceways for future technological advances (the installation of which would often involve the expensive removal of asbestos from ceilings and walls). Air conditioning is often needed and, where in place, additional computers would require additional cooling. Increases in

electrical power demands from computers, and air conditioning units would often exceed the available wiring capacity (as I found out two years ago when the School of Graduate Studies office was moved into an old building on campus during a renovation project).

Internet connections are more common in secondary than elementary schools, but typically through ordinary modems that are too slow for practical use, with high-speed connections and network bandwidth necessary for Internet applications such as audio and/or graphics not available (OTA, 1995, p. 20; Panel, 1997, pp. 9-10). No wonder Giese (1997; SSEC, 1997, p. 9) concluded that although "there is much talk and promise about being connected to the Internet at the school district and building level, [it is] just that-talk and promises."[4]

Software

Despite Diem's (1997, p. 101) enthusiasm about commercially developed educational software, others take a less optimistic view. One problem is related to the age of public school computers; very little software, if any is being developed that can be supported by the vintage Apple IIes in use in most schools (Panel, 1997, p. 9). But even with modern computers, there is a lack of software for the student-centered, constructivist approaches to education that are not only the current fad, but for which computer technology is supposed to be particularly functional.

In particular, there is often little fit between the software available and the curriculum, with development done by persons not conversant with the goals or classroom realities of social studies education. Although Baker, Hale, and Gifford (1997) were concerned primarily with the lack of use of computer instructional materials at the college level, they assessed elementary through college software involved in recent meta-analytic research reviews. They concluded that these materiäls are "narrowly conceptualized," "limited in scope," "theoretically chaotic," "nontransformative" (simply meant to be "bolted on to existent classroom teaching methods"), and "pedagogically confusing" (p. 49). That could be a description of the bulk of supplementary materials for social studies instruction over the years, most of which have had little of the sustained classroom use that would displace the textbook from its fundamental position in the classroom.

The "relative dearth of high quality computer software and digital content designed specifically for [social studies] use," particularly at the secondary level, is a basic deficit. Moreover, there is little evidence of any large-scale software development efforts by either traditional educational software and multimedia vendors or textbook publishers (Panel, 1997, p. 15). There has been some National Science Foundation (NSF) funding for software development in science and mathematics, but at a too-low level and with little funding in other areas, including social studies (Panel, 1997, p. 16).

The primary problem is fiscally based economics-the lack of adequate public school software acquisition budgets to attract venture capital to elementary and secondary software development- (For example, Disney's "computer wizards" see exciting educational software possibilities, but outside of the school environment ["Disney's Wizards," 1997].) Software acquisition budgets are about $ 10 to $16 per student each year, not enough to stimulate the development of new generations of software, especially with the existing market fragmentation that reflects a variety of academic subject areas, skill levels, and product specifications among school districts and states. The budget-fragmentation problem is compounded by procurement procedures, especially in the 22 "adoption" states, that are ill-suited to the software market, such as five-year approval cycles and pricing policies that prohibit volume-purchase discounts to large school districts. In addition, the lack-in both quantity and age-of modern hardware is a serious market-size restriction that further discourages private sector investment in software development (Panel, 1997, p. 15).

An economics-based prediction must be that there will be comparatively little private software research and development aimed at public education in general, much less at social studies instruction in specific. As I noted in an earlier piece (Shaver, 1995):

> The same factors that restricted [classroom] television use will limit the classroom impacts of computer technology: lack of hardware; inadequate quality and quantity of programming; the difficulty, without careful consideration by programmers of how and where their products might fit, in integrating programming into the curriculum. Perhaps most important, as was the case with the New Social Studies projects of the 1960s and 1970s and with educational television, the funding will not be available to develop products that can compete successfully for students' attention with those from the private entertainment enterprise. The brightest, most creative talent will continue to be drawn to business and entertainment

> by the personal financial opportunities and by the availability of capital for risky product development and for creatively satisfying products. Similarly, as with educational materials in thepast, persons with innovative programming concepts to stir students' imaginations will find it difficult to locate producers. (p.449)

The novelty effect of new technology is of concern to educational researchers as a confounding variable. Over the long haul, however, what should be of greater concern to educators is the *reverse-novelty* effect, that is, the lack of novelty and stimulation of educational materials as compared to those available in the private marketplace. No one to my knowledge has ever taken a textbook home for an enjoyable evening of reading, and Stoll (1995) asked, "Can you recall [even]one educational filmstrip of decades past?" But, he went on, "I'll bet you remember the two or three great teachers who, made a difference in your life." Students' experiences with educational software are not likely to be different.

The Teacher

A fundamental ingredient in the electronic future of social studies is, of course, the teacher. According to the results from one recent survey, of the teachers who had one or more computers in their school, only 62% used them regularly for instruction, and then mostly for teaching about computers or for drill and practice (Panel, 1997, p. 16). Diem (1997, p. 92) reported that there was little or no use of computers for social studies instruction.

Like others, teachers range widely in their familiarity and comfort with electronic technology, as well as in their acceptance and perception of its role in the curriculum. Many "find themselves bewildered by the changing landscape of computer, video, and telecommunication technologies" (Panel, 1997, p. 6). Even for those teachers who are technophiles, the challenges—even assuming adequate hardware, building infrastructure, and software—in actually integrating technology into instruction are great.

Beyond the need to learn to "run the machines," teachers must identify and evaluate software and Web sites, decide which to use, how each fits into the curriculum, and how to organize classroom activities so that the technology is an integral part of instruction, not a sideshow. Even student assessment will likely need to be rethought, for example, to take into account individualized and group projects. These are not small tasks. In fact, it has been suggested that the optimal use of electronic technology will necessitate not only the restructuring of individual classes, but the restructuring of intra- and inter-curricular relationships as well (Panel, 1997, pp. 13, 16).

In light of the reconceptualization and other tasks to be done, it is no surprise that a major barrier to the use of technology in instruction is teacher time. There are good, even excellent, software and Web pages, but finding, sorting through, and evaluating software and Web hits are extremely time-consuming tasks to add to the teacher's already busy day (OTA, 1995, p. 25; Panel, 1997, p. 17; SSEC, 1997, p. 9; Thomas et al., 1998). Moreover, teachers need training in the location and evaluation of materials, as well as assistance in developing curricula to help their students be critical, reflective users of the Internet and Web. They also need assistance in the incorporation of technology resources that tend to be nonlinear and provide multiple student-learning routes, and thus are difficult to integrate into the standard curriculum. In addition to the time for inservice education, to become comfortable and fluid technology users teachers need time to observe and consult with technologically experienced and competent teachers and to engage in ongoing communication (perhaps via e-mail, which many users find to be time consuming) with teachers in similar circumstances (Giese, 1997; SSEC, 1997, p. 9).

Teachers themselves often report time as the major obstacle to technology adoption and use. Teachers report they have, on average, 10 minutes of scheduled preparation time for each hour of teaching; with out-of-school preparation and grading of tests and papers, they report an average 47-hour workweek (Panel, 1997, p. 17). It has been estimated that, typically, it would take teachers from three to five years to fully integrate electronic technology into their teaching. The usual demands on teachers' time to perform routine tasks while staying current in their teaching and content expertise would certainly be exacerbated by any influx of technology into the curriculum. The time factor raises two interrelated and difficult issues that are not new, but are made more evident by the emergence of technology as a curricular ingredient. The first is logistic-that is how to restructure the school day to make time for teachers to do the material identification, evaluation, and selection, and the curricular and instruction planning that are necessary; the second is economic-how to pay for the restructuring and/or how to change teachers'

the restructuring and/or how to change teachers' incentives, such as "overtime" compensation, so that they will find the needed extra time.

Teacher Training and Assistance

As has been emphasized earlier in this paper, even if adequate amounts of up-to-date technology were available in the social studies classroom, that in itself would not result in increased student achievement. Curricular organization, content, and teaching method precede technology in causal importance for learning. And the classroom teacher is, to use a time-worn but valid phrase, the key to all of that-i.e., to what happens in the classroom. However, a majority of teachers report that they feel inadequately prepared to be instructional technology users. Providing them with assistance is a crucial step if technology is to be used and used effectively in instruction. Finding the time to be engaged in inservice education is not the only problem however; the needed training is often not available.

Typically, about 55% of school technology budgets is for hardware acquisition and maintenance, 30% for software acquisition, and 15% for teacher professional development. The consensus among those in the instructional technology field is that to be minimally adequate, the professional development portion of the budget should be at least 30% (OTA, 1995, pp. 19, 25; Panel, 1997, p 4). Again, good practice hinges on the availability of fiscal resources.

The adequacy, as well as the extent, of the professional development opportunities available to teachers is questionable. One survey indicated that 46% of the educational technology inservice courses were half-day workshops and that 79% were focused on operating hardware, navigating the Internet, or using specific pieces of software (Panel, 1997, p. 16). Little or no help was provided teachers in coping with the challenges of curricular integration and classroom organization, or with the critical tasks of software and Web page evaluation (Giese, 1997; SSEC, 1997). Teachers, not surprisingly, reacted negatively to the narrow technological orientation of the workshops and reported finding themselves unprepared to handle the diverse logistic and curricular challenges they encountered, even in "technology rich" school environments (Panel, 1997, p. 16).

Neither school district inservice education nor college preservice or inservice education appears to be providing the necessary assistance to teachers. In one survey, less than 50% of USA schools had an introductory computer course available for teachers through the school district or a local college (OTA, 1995, p 25). Colleges of education, despite the technological support often available from campus facilities, have not generally restructured courses (again, due to lack of instructor training and time, as well as inclination) to prepare prospective inservice teachers for technology use. Nor have technology-related school observation and practice teaching been generally provided for prospective teachers (Panel, 1997, p. 18). All is not necessarily well equipment-wise either. As White (1997, pp. 38-39) reported in his case study, lack of computer access can be a problem in preservice teacher education.

Support Staff

Professional development through pre- and inservice education is necessary, but not sufficient for teachers' use of technology. Nor is informal consultation with other teachers, as time allows, sufficient. Teachers need ongoing, expert technical as well as pedagogic consultation and support, including on-call maintenance and troubleshooting assistance (Panel, 1997, pp. 4, 16).[5] Yet, only about 5% of schools have a full-time computer support person, and nearly 60% of schools have no one with any percentage of time officially allocated to computer coordination and support. Even when schools have computer support personnel, they often spend over one-half of their time teaching computer-use courses to students and supporting administrative computer use, with only about 20% of their time spent helping teachers with technical and pedagogic problems (Panel, 1997, pp. 11, 16).

Summary and Qualification

The available reports on technology in USA public schools do not indicate a general situation conducive to technology-based or technology-driven instructional reform in general, or in social studies in particular. In light of the rapid changes in technology and its use in society, one might wonder if the OTA (1995) and Panel (1997) data are sufficiently current to be valid indicators of computer classroom availability and use. Given the general stability of American public education, due largely to budgetary constraints, my own contacts with schools, and what I see on my relatively technology-rich university campus, the portrayal presented appears to be valid. Of course, there will be striking exceptions among school districts, schools, and teachers. Those at the university level who are computer users and who are often in contact with leading-edge schools and teachers must be cautious not to overgeneralize from their positive experiences.

Socioeconomic Status, Ethnicity, and Technology Availability

Although technology could be an instrument to empower historically disadvantaged groups, the influence of technology also could widen disparities and further disadvantage persons in those groups. Which it will be depends largely on how the technology is deployed and used in schools (Panel, 1997, p. 21).

To what extent is computer availability a function of socioeconomic status or ethnicity? The equity issues raised by that question are not trivial. Bracy (1994, p. 84) summarized research that indicated that the "number of parents in the home, level of parental education, type of community, and state poverty rates for ages 5 to 6," all indicators of socioeconomic status, "account for fully 89% of the variance in NAEP [National Assessment of Educational Progress] scores." That is an unusually high amount of variance to be explained in educational research.

School Availability

During the 1994-95 school year, the poorest USA schools (those with 80% of the students eligible for Title I [Elementary and Secondary Education Act] funding) had, on average, one computer for every 11 students. In the richest schools (less than 20% of the students Title I eligible), the computer/student ratio was 1:9.5.

The gap in computer availability may seem rather modest, but there were also significant differences in computer use. The low socio-economic status (SES) students reported 14% less use of computers in school, and they were more likely to be taught about computer use than to use computers as learning tools in subject area classes. Higher SES 11th and 12th graders were 25% more likely than lower SES students to use computers for higher-order thinking and/or other subject-matter leatning, rather than drill and practice (Panel, 1997, p. 22.). The socioeconomic class-based curricular differences that Anyon (1980, 1981) reported—preparation for routine factory-type work versus preparation for professional, problem-encountering careers—apparently continue as an influence in the application of technology to education.

It is no surprise that the computers in low SES schools are more likely to be out-dated, less well-maintained, not connected to the Internet, and not to have appropriate software available for student use. There are also disparities in teacher recruitment—higher SES schools are more likely to hire teachers trained in technology application—and in the inservice education provided for teachers (OTA, 1995, pp. 20, 43; Panel, 1997, p. 22).

Ethnicity is also related to school technology availability. Schools with greater than 90% minority student enrollment were reported to have 16% fewer computers per student. Ethnicity is partly confounded with socioeconomic status, with all of the implications noted above.

Home Availability

A factor to be taken into account in contemplating the role of electronic technology in the future of social studies is the availability of the technology, especially computer technology, in students' homes. Home computer use may help to prepare students for computer use at school or offset the lack of adequate hands-on computer availability in schools.

Probably most persons who read this paper will have a computer in their home, as well as at their office (if they have one). That circumstance does not validly reflect the situation in the general population, however. Samuelson (1997) reported that about 40% of USA households had a computer, up from 18% in 1987 and 31% in 1995, but well short of the 60% expected and with a slowing of demand that may be temporary but is not fully understood. (The purchase slowdown may be short term, it may reflect economic market saturation, or it may be that Americans have decided that "the personal computer is not yet the indispensable tool that digital enthusiasts think it is" [Meyer & Stone, 1998, p. 42].)

A report from the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) in July 1998 was less encouraging in regard to computer ownership. According to the NTIA data, from 48, 100 Census Bureau door-to-door surveys in 1997, only 36.6% of USA homes have computers (p. 2). Samuelson (1997) indicated that Internet use by Americans 18 or older was at 28% in 1997, up from 8% in 1995, but not as high as Internet enthusiasts might expect. NTIA (1998, p. 2) reported online access in homes to be 18.6% in 1997.

The percentages of American homes with a computer and on-line access, and of Internet users, are, then, far from 100%, and the serious disparities in computer availability and use in schools are not likely to be ameliorated by home availability and use. About 50% of USA households with one or more children were reported to have computers in 1995 (Panel, 1997, p. 22). That figure went to 57.2% in the NTIA (1998) report. However, for single-parent households headed by females or males, the

figures were only 25% and 30.5%, respectively. Overall, on-line access for married couples with children was 29.4% in 1997, but only 14% for male-headed, single-parent families and 9.2% for female-headed, single-parent families (p. 4). Significantly, a large proportion of the children in homes with computers use them for school work on average about one hour per week. That is roughly equal to a typical student's computer use in school (Panel, 1997, p. 22).

There is, however, even greater SES disparity in home computer availability than in school availability. In June of 1995 (Panel, 1997), there were computers in only 14% of households in which the parent(s) had a high school education and an income less than $30,000 a year; with college education and an income greater than $50,000 per year, 73% had computers. From a slightly different perspective, NTIA (1998, p. 3) reported that in households with less than $35,000 annual income, computer ownership and online access were 36.6% and 26.3%, respectively. Similarly, 63% of persons with a college education owned computers, as contrasted with 6.8% for those without a high-school education. Online access was reported as 38.4% for those with college degrees, 9.6% for those with high-school diplomas, and only 1.8% for those without a high-school education.

In 1993, African-American and Hispanic households were 57% and 59%, respectively, less likely than white households to have a computer. Of course, these data were reflected in use.

In a 1995 survey, only 17% of African-American children reported using computers in their home, as compared to 38% of white children (Panel, 1997, p. 22). According to the NTIA report, despite a 52% increase in personal computer ownership since 1994, the disparities in computer ownership and home online access for whites, on the one hand, and blacks and Hispanics, on the other, have widened.

The discrepancies and their importance are underscored by Spring 1997 data from Nielsen Media Research (Hoffman & Novak, 1998). In the total national sample (N = 5,399), 42.9% of the respondents reported owning a home computer, but only 29.0% of blacks in contrast to 44.3% of whites. At an income level below $40,000 per year, 26.0% of the respondents reported home-computer ownership, but only 13.3% of blacks reported ownership versus 27.5% of whites. However, of those respondents with annual incomes at or over $40,000, 61.5% reported computer ownership, with blacks reporting slightly higher ownership (65.4%) than whites ´61.2%). In the NTIA (1998) data, 40.8% of white households had a computer, versus 19.3% of black and 19.4% of Hispanic homes. In contrast to the Nielsen Media Research data, even above the $75,000 annual income level, white households had higher percentages of computers than black households (76.3% vs. 64. 1%), with online access at 21.2% for white households, but 7.7% and 8.7%, respectively, for black and Hispanic households.

White students in the Nielsen Media Research national sample (all age 16 or older, Kiernan, 1998a) were more likely than black students to have used the Web (65.8% vs. 48.6%), but the difference decreased (72. 1 % vs. 63.8%) when there was a computer in the home. White students without a computer at home were more than twice as likely to have used the Web within the past six months (37.8% vs. 15.9); perhaps they had greater access to computers at friends' and relatives' homes or at libraries and community centers (Hoffman & Novak, 1998).

Clearly, "access translates to usage" (Hoffman & Novak, 1998, p. 391). For those interested in the technological future of social studies, the educational issues raised by SES and ethnic inequities in computer (and undoubtedly other technology) availability and use at school and at home must be a major concern. Can technology, even with properly designed content and appropriate pedagogy, be a positive force for or in instructional reform, given the present, unlikely-to-change, situation? The data present an important reality check for would-be reformers of social studies education. They also, of course, delineate important policy issues (Hoffman & Novak, 1998; Panel, 1997) that should be included with other technology public issues, such as listed by Diem (1997), for study and discussion in social studies classrooms.

What About McLuhan?

Despite the conclusion cited early in this paper-that McLuhan's declaration that "the medium is the message" does not apply to the effects of media on student achievement-the general thesis he proposed (McLuhan, 1964; McLuhan & Fiore, 1967) cannot be ignored. There is no question but that, like the printing press, the telephone, and television, modern electronic technology will have tremendous impacts on the societies within which schools function. The already visible impact of e-mail on patterns of communication and the effects of being able to take on identity for Internet chat rooms are only clues to what lies ahead.

What are the implications for social studies?

Will concepts of authority and cooperation change, with effects on classroom as well as societal interrelations (Windshitl, 1998, p. 28)? Will immersion in electronic technology result in elementary and secondary school students who have been deprived of the opportunity to develop interpersonal, social skills? Probably not. In fact, some research indicates that the use of computers in classrooms leads to increased student interaction (Panel, 1997, p. 13). But there can be little doubt that the nature of the interaction will change.

Will there be electronic technology-induced changes in the teacher's role, reshaping the types and patterns of classroom interactions (Panel, 1997, p. 13)? Perhaps, but with effects much less than technology enthusiasts envision, due in large part to the personnel, fiscal, and economic constraints noted above. As I have noted elsewhere (Shaver, 1995, p. 448-449), "Technological innovation... seems often to pass schools by or have little influence." Television, for example, has had radical effects on society, but little impact on social studies instruction, except as context (Splaine, 1991).

The public will complain about schools, but, as in the past, will be unwilling to provide the resources to make technology a viable instructional element, with, of course, some striking exceptions in some school districts and schools. Generally, the public will continue to spend billions of dollars on their own hardware and software ($5.1 billion for software alone in 1997, according to USA Today, May 28, 1998, p. D1), but be unwilling to provide needed tax revenue for schools, even at a level that businesses would consider less than minimal for educational endeavors. Educational stability of the sort Cuban (1991) found for earlier decades will continue.

The prediction that deeper, long-term societal change will occur, but only surface schooling changes, reflects past technology experience. As Noam (1998) has cautioned:

> It is characteristic of individuals, institutions, industries and entire societies to misjudge the future.... On the one hand, we tend to succumb to the various merchants of hype, overestimate short-term spread of technology as to its salutary impact---- "a helicopter in every garage"; "atomic power too cheap to meter"; "the Internet in every classroom." On the other hand, we tend to underestimate the deeper long-term impact of fundamental technologies. (p. 19)

Edison predicted, erroneously, in 1913 that films would replace books as instructional media. Similar prognostications of the effects of radio and TV have not come to pass. Nor have they, yet, for the computer (Noam, 1998, p. 19). Although each of these technologies has fundamentally altered individual and societal perspectives and behavior, their effects on schooling in this country have been minimal.

Despite technology, schools and social studies instruction will continue much as they have for decades. The reasons are captured well by Giese's (1997; also SSEC, 1997, pp. 9-10) summation of Cuban's historical overview of teachers' adoption or, more frequently, rejection of, new technologies, as applicable to current electronic technology:

> The Internet (and arguably other hypermedia) will enjoy widespread use if (a) the technology helps teachers accomplish their own instructional goals and objectives; (b) the benefits derived from the technology are proportionate to the costs and efforts necessary to use it; (c) as many extant or potential impediments as possible are removed from the equation; and (d) a fair amount of resources are allocated to support them, especially in training.

Given the history of change in social studies instruction and the resources that the public is willing to provide schools, is there much question about the outcome?

> *The optimist believes this is the best of possible worlds,- the pessimist fears that is true.*
>
> *A pessimist is a realistic optimist.*
>
> (Sources unknown.)

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Notes

Dr. Andrew S. Gibbons, Associate Professor of Instructional Technology and Director of the Center for the School of the Future at Utah State University, provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of this paper, with both materials and references to material.

[1] One of my colleagues refers to the Web as a means of obtaining "ready access to out-ofdate information." In a slightly different vein, Ruth (1997) noted that when he gave his students an assignment that involved using the Internet to obtain stock prices and Dow Jones and Wall Street Journal information to compute the day's Dow Jones Industrial Average, they found that the Internet did not provide the best sources. His observation, "Score one for the daily newspaper and the local library" (p. 34).

[2] Neil Rudenstine (1996), President of Harvard University, in a discussion of the information challenges of the Internet, drew an analogy with the information overload that accompanied the explosion of research publications in the last quarter of the 19th century. Harvard's library was cited by then president Charles Eliot as "completely inadequate to accommodate the sharp rise in acquisitions. Books... are piled upon the floors.... Alcoves are blocked up.... Thousands of (volumes)... have been placed in temporary positions, and large numbers of books were being stored haphazardly" (p. 3.) Rudenstine also recalled the fear of the printing press in the 18th century, when "Diderot remarked that 'a time will come when it will be almost as difficult to learn anything from books as from the direct study of the whole of the universe... the printing press, which never rests (will fill) huge buildings with books (in which readers) will not do much reading. . . . (Eventually) the world of learning-our world-will drown in books" (p. 3).

[3] For example, in 1995, almost every school had at least one TV and VCR, but only 41% of teachers had a TV in their classrooms; only one teacher in eight had a telephone in the classroom and less than 1% had access to voice mail (OTA, 1995, pp. 1, 39).

[4] Whether the national E-rate program, in which phone companies are to provide schools with digital wiring, telecommunications service, and Internet access at 20% to 90% discounts, will have a significant impact on Internet access for students remains to be seen. The Federal Communications Commission. reduced the funding, which is based on phone company charges to customers, from $2.25 billion to less than $1.4 billion for 1998. The costs of internal wiring will pose difficulties for school districts not poor enough to receive the maximum discount (Couzin, 1998). And the deficiencies in computer availability and teacher training remain largely unaddressed.

[5] See Soules and Adams (1998, pp. 5 1-2) for an excellent overview of the many needs to be met before teachers can teach successfully with technology at the college or K-12 level.

SSEC 1996

On the Half-life of Curriculum Reform: Personal Reflections

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The Social Science Education Consortium was founded originally to facilitate curriculum reform projects, sometimes called the "New Social Studies". It seems appropriate to reflect on the duration of the influence of one of these projects. These insights were initiated by the publication of a piece of curriculum material in 1992 on the same subject and illustrating the same broad concept as an activity I was involved in 30 years ago.

The November/December 1992 issue of the Journal of Geography included an article entitled "Spatial Diffusion of Islam: a Teaching Strategy". I had initiated and participated in the development of a classroom activity entitled "The Spread of Islam" in 1966. I was interested to see how the new activity improved on our earlier effort.

Our effort in the 1960s was part of the High School Geography Project (HSGP) which had major support from the National Science Foundation. Reaching publication at the end of the decade, it was widely known in curriculum circles and among Geographers. Our week-long activity on Islam was one of six in the unit "Cultural Geography."

Starting with Muhammad's inspiration in Mecca, it included a reading for the whole class on the rapid spread of the new religion throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Then there were three different readings: first the race across North Africa and into Spain and even France; second, the conversion of the Persians and the spread into central and south Asia and the Islands; and third the slow conversion and/or conquest of Anatolia (Asia Minor) and the Balkans all the way to Vienna.

Then the class would be divided into three groups. Each group would read and analyze one of the readings. Then the class could be brought together to compare and contrast the diffusion experience, both the factors facilitating and those blocking or slowing diffusion.

To my dismay the 1992 article made no mention of or reference to the HSGP activity. It described the nature of Islam, the present distribution of Muslims in Africa and Asia and divided the process of diffusion into types: voluntary, forced, hierarchical, relocation, and intellectual. It suggested student discussion of barriers and compared the diffusion into Persia with quantitative theoretical models of diffusion. The bibliography included 40 references, but none to our more complete unit in HSGP.

With a perhaps understandable "pride of parenthood", I was incensed. After recognizing my emotional involvement, I started musing on the longevity of our "improved" curriculum materials. How far should we carry the metaphor, comparing the decay of radioactive elements with the decreasing use, usefulness, and awareness of curriculum materials? It may be useful to think in terms of entropy, that is in terms of the investment of intellectual energy in the organization of learning experiences and then their gradual loss of utility.

School textbooks, the most common curriculum material in the United States, are normally replaced every 5 years. If the publisher has not felt it worthwhile to invest more intellectual energy by that time, the book goes out of print and is rarely used again.

The HSGP materials were revised once. Their longevity as published volumes was little more than 10 years. Some parts were used much longer. One high school teacher in Boulder, Colorado continued to use much of the material for the rest of his teaching career, almost 20 years. One university professor built an undergraduate introductory course using five simulations from HSGP, revising them slowly for a decade or more. The "Game of Farming" a decision making simulation, is still in use. The influence of the activities on the teachers and students who used them must be counted as part of the effect of the energy invested.

The question is: why do we continue to invest so much energy in new materials, materials that seem to have such a short half-life. Many factors contribute to the explanation.

Technology changes and schools must keep up with those changes. Political, social and economic systems change and books used in school must try to keep up with those changing concerns. Some knowledge becomes obsolete or irrelevant and should be discarded. New knowledge is being created and some of it must be incorporated into the curriculum.

Aggravating the situation is the American concern for newness. Pictorial illustrations might include current models of automobiles or contemporary fashions of clothing. A geography that does not mention "El Nino" or at least global warming will be considered obsolete.

In the United States, books are published for profit. Obsolescence is part of the system. Energy is invested in keeping successful texts up to date. When a text has a significant market share, the publisher keeps revising it, building the author's reputation and keeping the illustrations and statistics current and changing the copyright date.

A "realist" view might conclude that the commercially successful texts meet the demand, that they are what the system needs. Why change it? Why reform?

The answer, of course, is that the whole system needs change, that no one is satisfied, neither public nor educators nor scholars. We all feel caught in the "system" and cannot find the key to initiate significant change.

To be sure we have been expecting too much of the schools. We can hardly expect the schools to compensate for the terrible problems which characterize the social environment surrounding their students. It is a truism that schooling is a small part of the socialization and intellectual development of today's youth. But the system of information-filled textbooks with teachers causing students to memorize information from those textbooks is already obsolete. The transmission of information from one generation to the next must no longer be the mission of secondary schools. Rather we must focus on the process of acquiring, selecting and manipulating information. We must further the development of higher cognitive skills to use that information wisely.

As the pace of change increases we need to build change mechanisms into school systems (as well as other social systems).

But there is more to the half-life metaphor. The most obvious and material products of the High School Geography Project were the six published units: teachers' guides, student readings, games, simulations, visual aids, data sets, etc. A few teachers continued to use the materials for a long time, but the published material pretty much disappeared after 10 or 12 years.

The intangible impacts were less obvious. HSGP inquiry approaches spawned three Schools Council projects in Great Britain. A cluster of projects in Germany were a direct take-off from HSGP. Teachers and teacher educators in the Netherlands and Australia found inspiration in the inquiry approaches we had used.

Most profound and enduring was the effect on the people directly involved in the project: the hundreds of teachers, professors and evaluators whose image of good classroom practice was changed forever as they participated in the creative work of developing and refining the materials. These individuals experienced the thrill of managing a classroom of excited students participating actively in figuring out powerful concepts. They never again were satisfied to be mere presenters of information.

Using a different metaphor, they caught the virus. They set examples in their own teaching which infected the next generation after them. With each generation, the effect may weaken, but I think it still shows in the "Five Themes", in the conceptual emphasis in the geography portion of the National Standards and the National Assessment. Almost 30 years later, the best of the Geography Alliances are helping teachers to be innovators themselves, helping them find the thrill of creating their own inquiry curriculum materials.

Who knows whether the influence is strong enough to survive the natural tendency of school systems to stifle innovation, but the half-life of HSGP is certainly much longer than the survival of the print materials.

SSEC 1998

The Difficulty in Change: The Tenacity of Teachers and Teacher Education --New York as a Case Study

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This is not the paper I set out to give when I filled in the SSEC RFP (request for papers/panelists) last October. Then, I expected to focus only on the lack of curriculum change in social studies in NewYork State. Nor is this the paper I set out to write earlier this month-but it is the paper that evolved as I wrote, probably based on lots of concerns ruminating in my head the past two years or so. Call it end-of-AcademicYear blues, call it end of NYS Board of Regents Task Force Report on Teaching awakening, call it a call to alarm, for I feel that teacher education in New York State has one last chance—or were out of business. And maybe true for the rest of the United States....

In New York State, the Board of Regents has spent the last two years listening to teachers, teacher-educators, parents, et al on the state of teaching, which included teacher preparation. Most Board of Regents members, if not all members, felt in 1996 when the Task Force began that teacher education in the state was **overrated**, **overvalued**, **overpriced**, and **probably not needed** except for student ("practice") teaching (and solid grounding in the Liberal Arts and Sciences).

However, after two years of reading, studying, and consulting with many, the Board of Regents has listened to/heard higher education and now say they see the value of teacher preparation, but I worry that we've oversold ourselves. Their latest Task Force Report adds a Master's degree-that is, 5 to 6 years of preparation before initial certification as a teacher (plus possibly three exams and some other lesser requirements). They do see the value of solid pedagogical study and practice long before student teaching. I hope we in New York don't blow this opportunity—but I do worry about our future ....

I have just completed my 35th year as a social studies educator: the first five as a junior high social studies teacher in an upstate New York school; the next twenty as a social studies teacher-educator at three different campuses in upstate New York; and the last ten as dean of a school of education and human development, where I have become much more involved in the broad sweep of educational reform, preK-12 as well as higher education--pre-service and in-service, new standards, new curriculum professional development schools, technology in education et al. I have served on many state boards, committees, task forces, et al.

And, unfortunately, as I look back on this career in education, I see that I have made little difference, that little has actually changed, that the complaints leveled against our fields---social studies and social studies teacher education--by students, parents, and the public in general remain the same, despite all the "changes" that are alluded to in higher education, in preK-12 schools.

As a **reviewer** of many **new as well as revised teacher education programs** in New York State, though, (there are 113 colleges/universities with teacher preparation programs) I knew that little in the way of change had really occurred in higher education. Oh, yes, there is tinkering around the edges, but the proposals I was reading could have been drafted, 20-25 years (or longer) ago. They were the same courses; indeed, the programs were a collection of courses. I saw no philosophical underpinnings, just lists of courses that college/university faculty liked and wanted to teach. Was there input from the schools on the programs? No, of course not, for the most part.

So maybe the **schools** have changed, improved without us. Thus, last year, I decided it was time for me to see some of these changes in action-to sit in on some classes in two of the middle schools with which my college of education has engaged in collaborative professional development schools.

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I observed these 1997 classes but it might as well have been 1967, when I was a teacher, if not 1957 when I was in junior high school all over again, for little had changed. Bells kept ringing, the kids went in and out of classrooms, and the excitement was in the hallways--not in the classrooms. And I knew this was true for the elementary school where I have served five years as a mentor. I witnessed the teacher being in charge, textbooks playing a dominant role, little student activity or even learning occurring as students seemed bored or oblivious to what was happening. So to expand my base, at the NYSCSS conference in the spring, I sat in on sessions, listened to/talked with teachers, but I heard nothing new or different-just the same old stuff.

How could this be? I asked myself. These public schools, which have won prestigious national awards, are considered top schools in the area; several of the teachers are alums of the university (our own highly selective teacher preparation programs, either preservice or in-service); many of these teachers, like so many at the state social studies conference, are very active in their professional associations, always giving presentations at or at least attending conferences, workshops, and seminars; and they know the "in" language of our profession. Why has there been so little change in their classrooms?

Let me suggest some possibilities

1) No one really wants to change--teachers, administrators, college/university teacher educators.... folks generally are happy with what they are doing and they do think they are doing a good job--or at least better than most of their colleagues. We all prefer to stay in defensive mode than examine seriously if what we do does make a difference.
2) Change is time-consuming, difficult (that switch from old way to new way); and change is risk-taking (what if X doesn't work? and what I'm doing now does anyway, so...).
3) Our teacher preparation programs are not selective enough...we are forced to have bodies not brains in our classrooms because our college or university has ever increasing enrollment targets to meet.
4) Teachers just do not have the academic content knowledge--not just their own teaching field but general knowledge. Their interests are not academic or intellectual; they can talk to me about Oprah but not opera, Jerry Seinfeld but not Georges Seurat, and Tommy Hilfiger but not Thomas Jefferson.
5) Because of budget cuts in many states, some teacher preparation programs are being run on the backs of adjuncts while our more privileged full-time, tenured faculty work only with doctoral students, cloning them if you will. These adjuncts, many of them public school teachers, don't have the research background that should be brought to higher education courses. No wonder the programs are still called teacher training-a demeaning term-and not teacher education; teachers train others to be just like them-not to think for themselves, but to do as these experienced teachers do.
6) Our faculties are too removed from actual preK-12 classroom practice to be of any real assistance when pre-service and experienced teachers need to learn how to teach or to improve their practice. (Didn't you enter higher ed to be away from-i.e., above--all that anyway??) We don't use what we know from research, and maybe we don't even know what we use.
7) Our higher education faculties are not really interested in schools. There has been a shift in our profession over the years as we have sought to be viewed as more like the more "prestigious" arts and sciences faculties. We adopted their model of not being responsible to those we prepare as teachers but of seeking "respectability" on campus by seeking to be acknowledged by our national and international peers instead, especially if that means having an article published in a journal that is less related to classroom practice. (The fewer the people who read it, the more garbled the language, the greater the prestige it has...??)
8) Professional development doesn't exist. Oh, yes, there are these "make it and take it," "one-day wonders» called workshops at regional conferences, in-service workshops on something called "Superintendent's Day" in New York State, short-term classes at teacher centers (we have over 100 of those centers in New York), but little thoughtful, long-term observation, analysis, discussion and evaluation and reflection of one's own practice with an eye to improvement-which is what I think of as professional development.
9) Teachers and teacher-educators are turned off to reform but each new state superintendent or new governor or even president still has had his/her own plan. Many teachers and teacher educators in NY choose to "sit out" the new learning standards and assessments movement as they did the previous "reforms" --the

"Blueprint for Learning," the "Red Book" (I don't even recall the name of that 'reform'), the Regents Action Plan, or the "Compact for Learning." These were all since only 1980! [it tells you how many state commissioners of education we have had.]

10) The schools themselves inhibit any change, be it because of vocal parental pressure groups, administrators who are not risk-takers (or even academics themselves), the Model T school day where we are still trying to prepare students to compete in the Indy 500 (you know, agrarian calendar, few computers, even fewer teachers with computer skills and ability to integrate them into the classroom for teaching and learning), or because of a lack of funds.
11) And last for today (there are others, but time is short), the politics of education has created more problems that it has solved. The U.S. chooses not to invest in its children. We balk at $8000 worth of funding per student in NY but everyone is happy that more prisons are being built to house maximum security criminals at a cost of $80,000 per year. Every committee dealing with reform, every parent group, every government reform activity by politicians tries to accommodate everyone's ideas, perspectives, etc., but stalemate tends to result and any change, if any change even does occur, is a compromise. Case in point, from 1992-1995, I co-chaired the NYS Social Studies Committee to develop a new framework for preK-12 social studies in the state. [Many of you know something about this committee from reading Catherine Cornbleth (and Dexter Waugh's) book THE GREAT SPECKLED BIRD: MULTICULTURAL POLITICS AND EDUCATION POLICYMAKING (1995).] The commissioner appointed a committee representing higher education, preK-12 teachers and administrators, and museum staff all with respect to gender, race, ethnicity, urban/rural/suburban regions, public and private institutions, leaders in the professional organizations as well as the organized profession (the NYS teachers union); and about six state education department staff. We met monthly for two days (usually Saturday-Sunday) for three years; we had homework between meetings; we had special sub-committee meetings; we read every state's, programs, every social studies group's proposals, all the content area standards...and after four years a document was produced that looked as if it had been written in 1953, for it emphasizes factual information and accepting the what is... And everyone, including many within social studies teacher education, loved it! How could that be? The tenacity of teachers and teacher-educators, the level of comfort in the old--not having to change--was appalling to me. Perhaps I should have selected another profession instead of staying in education for 34 years now....

So, what are my ideas for solutions??

1) First off, I think we need a new model for teacher preparation, but this can only come about after we convince the public as well as college/university administratrators of the value of teacher preparation. There is still the feeling that teaching is telling, that anyone can be a teacher. (Actually, we have little research to even "disprove" that.) And as a corollary to changing the model, we need to revise tenure/promotion criteria so our work is viewed differently from the way traditional arts and sciences faculty work is treated.
2) And this new work is that college/university faculty in teacher education spend half their time in schools--practicing what they preach, not just **tell** but **show** what they know, what they believe in, along the same lines as other professional school faculty. That is, no one would expect a surgeon to be teaching in a medical school, a nurse in a school of nursing, an accountant in a business school, or even a hairdresser in a cosmetology school who had not been practicing her craft, his skill; so in like manner, we, too, should be continually practicing the art and science of teaching in preK-12 schools. I assure you our credibility will rise,and our knowledge of teaching will as well. By continually working with teachers, both pre-service and in-service, the field, the profession should be elevated.
3) But it cannot be until we make changes on campus. Faculty need to accept responsibility for working with teachers to reform schools, not just pontificating, from on high. I think the rise of professional development schools has given us a start on this as more classes are held in schools for both pre- and in-service teachers and as more college faculty spend time in schools, and not just observing student teachers. However, too many full-time faculty [and administrators] have delegated that responsibility to either low-paid adjuncts as a cost-saving device or to doctoral students because faculty themselves do not value that

required part of the work of our profession. We need to be out there seeing if the theory we develop does work, and to develop new theory based on what is actually happening in schools. No wonder our profession is devalued--we are too far removed from what we actually say our profession is.

4) And I think we need to very seriously upgrade our student body. When campuses in New York, and many other states as well, still admit people with a mediocre 2.3 or 2.5 GPA into teacher preparation, something is seriously wrong. [I don't want my grandson taught by a C+ teacher....] We need people with strong academic AND pedagogical backgrounds and preparation. We need thinkers, people, with an intellectual curiosity, well-rounded individuals, individuals committed to social justice, to being change-agents, to "reaching beyond what is to what might or ought to be," I want to see people practicing democracy and community, not just spouting about it...and I see few of them in schools or colleges today, unfortunately. To meet enrollment targets, many campuses, at least in much of New York State, admit to teacher education nearly everyone who is breathing, "likes kids," and has tuition check in mouth. This is more likely the not highly selective independent colleges (some 70-75 in New York State alone), as well as some branches of the SUNY and CUNY public university systems.

In summary, we are in serious trouble, folks, and will go out of existence unless we reform our own chance to show that we can make a difference.

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On the Paradox of Evaluating Achievement in Social Studies

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In this paper, social studies are understood as social education or teaching social sciences. In Finnish schools, the subject corresponding to social studies ('yhteiskuntaoppi') includes elements of politics, economics, sociology and law. This paper will focus on the problems of evaluating learning outcomes of social studies instruction, and the connection between instructional goals and evaluation practices. The paper further discusses the consequences of current trends in educational evaluation of social studies. The main thesis will be that there are some contradictions, on the one hand between goals and everyday evaluation, and, on the other hand, between the constraints of new trends in evaluation and teaching of social studies.

The status of social studies in school curricula is justified. It is understood to be a school subject with the objective of giving students the necessary knowledge base and tools for thinking in order to enable them to grasp the social reality and participate actively in it. A major role is played by the goals of citizenship education. Despite the general acceptance on the level of curriculum texts, the goals are in practice rather problematic. It is difficult to reach consensus about how to transform these goals to a more detailed and concrete level. It is even more difficult to use them as the criteria of evaluation of learning outcomes. Taken the requirements of validity, the assessments should be focussed on what are considered to be the most essential goals and learning processes in the subject area. However, if the basis is highly contradictory and ambiguous, it may undermine the efforts to construct satisfactory evaluation procedures.

It is useful to discuss the goals in connection with the concept of educational effectiveness. The starting point is that teaching social studies is intentional activity that has certain purposes and tends to reach certain results or impacts.

On the Concept of Outcome

Taken that decision-makers expect some impact or effects emerging from social studies teacher work, what can be understood as such relevant or realistic impact? The first thing is that teachers themselves and also decision-makers have formed a conception of what students should achieve as outcomes of social studies learning. This is, no doubt, a question that has been and should be thoroughly discussed among the teaching profession, but it is probably impossible to give very clear answers or definitions.

The impacts can be understood to be cognitive, such as a basic knowledge or conception of society, or they can be seen in the field of skill development. The latter may include various elements, from study skills to critical thinking or readiness for participation. We can also refer to the desired outcomes of social studies instruction with such concepts as civic literacy, alertness or intellectual curiosity for social and political questions. Essential outcomes are included in the field of citizenship education or political socialization. Problems arise when we try to define what should be the common core of subject matter, and it is far more difficult to agree about values. Skills needed in social life, critical thinking, and values are difficult to approach. Consequently, teachers are in practice tempted to focus their evaluation procedures on such impacts that are more accessible, but at the same time more trivial so far as learning and content area are concerned.

The very concept of educational achievement or outcome is complicated, especially when it is examined against the background of the cognitive or constructivist conception of learning. According to behaviorism, learning achievements constitute some basic facts or details, or basic skills, the mastery of which is easy to assess. Having experienced the cognitive turn, we now expect higher order thinking skills or depth and

integration of student knowledge. The outcomes have become more difficult to deal with and more difficult to evaluate. (Cole 1990, 2-4)

Conceptions of educational achievement are highly relative. What is the span of time we use when we evaluate learning? Generally we pay attention to the short-term goals and the immediate learning outcomes, which often are not permanent. A student may adopt large amounts of information for the examination, and forget it soon afterwards. Such learning outcomes are not valuable in relation to skill development or civic education. Social studies is a subject area in which a large part of the goals, in fact the most remarkable of them, are long-term goals, inaccessible for school assessment. Teaching and learning may also have such impacts that are undesired or unintended; some students may learn to dislike politics and find the whole content area uninteresting. (Cole 1990, 6; cf. Marker & Mehlinger 1992, 844)

Despite the fluent rhetoric on skills, participation and values as the goals of social studies instruction, there is not much research-based evidence confirming that teaching actually has had remarkable impact on student skills or values. As a school subject, social studies are charged with wide-ranging affective goals, connected to citizenship education. Although teachers on the practical level might be more satisfied with assessing factual cognitive learning, on the rhetoric level, stress is laid on the role the subject plays in the student socialization process. It is very difficult to catch this process and evaluate it. Furthermore, there is little research verifying that social studies instruction has had strong impact on student political or social attitudes or their readiness for political participation.

In the United States, student knowledge about the political system and government has been the object of several national assessments, which have comprised mainly objective short answers or structured items. According to these tests, instruction has affected most strongly in the area of knowing facts, although there are gaps in knowledge. Social studies instruction does not seem to have had any remarkable impact on student values, attitudes or participation in political activity. Instead, these seem to be more strongly influenced by home, parents and their values, and by the atmosphere of home, school and classroom. Anyway, the role played by various elements is difficult to analyze. (For summary, see Patrick & Hoge 1991, 430-434; Ferguson 1991, 391-392; Marker & Mehlinger 1992, 837-838)

Teaching and learning processes are multifaceted, and their effects are consequently difficult to analyze. One of the paradoxes in social studies teaching, as well as in education in general, is that it is extremely difficult to establish convincing causal relations. It is not easy to tell whether a learning outcome entirely results from teaching, or is affected, for instance, by the students' conditions or home or is based on her/his own mental capacity. This is even more complicated in case of long-term outcomes, which are manifested later, when the person is participating in society.

Evaluation, Values and Ethics

Evaluation in schools constitutes an ethical problem. In evaluation, the teacher is using his or her control in relation to the student. In everyday school life, assessing students may seem to be a straight-forward job of stating what they know and what they do not, ranking their performance and giving them marks.

Educational evaluation has, however, complicated and multi-layered functions in society. Schools and teachers as judges of student performance constitute a social filter that in the long run, influences the roles and tasks students adopt in the social hierarchy. Thus evaluation is a part of social selection mechanisms. In the short term, school assessments contribute to students' self-concept formation.

Evaluation includes also a powerful hidden curriculum in relation to individual learning practices and knowledge formation. As to the content area, a teacher constructing school examinations is making decisions about what pieces of the content area are so important that they must be learned; he or she is also making standards for determining the level of knowledge. This is a process where teachers are forming a conception of school-valued knowledge. (Poole 1994)

The social studies teachers with their assessments are instrumental in the process in which the students are constructing their view of the society and trying to find their own places in it. Of course, we must not exaggerate the importance of formal school learning as an agent of political socialization, because the media, for instance, are probably more powerful in forming young people's conception of the world.

Traditional evaluation techniques may bias the picture of society. In classroom situations, for instance, where teachers routinely control what their students know, the questions tend to be cognitively very simple. Social studies subject matter is thus fragmented and objectified into details, concepts, definitions, and charts that can be

assessed and measured easily. Thus evaluation is strengthening the impression of society as a static mechanism, and of social studies subject matter as a given collection of facts; not as a dynamic construction by living people.

Value-laden questions and contradictory information form an inherent part of social reality. Consequently, social studies should give a credible account of the nature of the field. In teaching, the nature of society may be described in a mechanical, simple and easy way, with no attention to the tensions and contradictions, and the same is repeated in tests. (Cf. Cherryholmes 1985, 397) As regards the construction of values, it would be necessary to let students deal with problematic issues and contradictory evidence. It is not the role of the teacher to transmit any values, but to create opportunities for problem solving.

Ethical obligations are also included in social studies evaluation. Obviously, student values are of a very private nature, and it is debatable to which degree the teacher is allowed to evaluate or assess, for example, students' mental growth or development into citizenship. What can be evaluated, then, are the skills of thinking and reflection, and as well the readiness for dealing with values, not the content of the individual values. Evaluation should be understood as a tool for the teacher, with which he or she can better understand the student, not as a tool used for ranking students. One function of evaluation in the field of values, is that it might enable the teacher better to understand the thinking of the students, and thus to prepare more meaningful learning processes and find more relevance to teaching.

Inert Knowledge - Risk for Evaluation

In a school subject such as social studies, factual content is inevitably of great importance, both as content and as process. Despite the stress laid on socialization and citizenship education, school assessments are in practice mainly focusing on the factual content of social studies learning. School assessments tend to test the mastery of declarative knowledge, answering the question "what", instead of more demanding questions. (Alexander et al. 1991)

The student may be interested mainly in test success, and learning the content for short-term purposes. This is typical of instrumental learning motivation, not willingness to understand or develop. Thus the pieces of information are fragmented and superficial and they are forgotten soon after the exam, they are not integrated into an organized body of knowledge. This kind of learning is referred to with the concept of inert knowledge.

There is a risk that the students are obtaining inert knowledge, which they only repeat in tests without being able to use it in real life situations (Entwistle 1990, 663). Thus, it is possible that the educational goals set for social studies are not nearly reached.

It would be useful to reflect, to what extent social studies teaching can result in compiling inert knowledge and to what degree it engages students into active learning processes where they are challenged to understand and organize information. As so many useful concepts, also inert knowledge is not very exact. Who can eventually judge what and whose knowledge is dead and useless?

However, young students are naturally novices, and typical of novice thinking is accumulating isolated details and inability to organize facts logically. Higher order cognitive skills should be seen as goals, not as ready starting points for learning. Novices need to be given tools for independent learning; this is a path of small steps. However, evaluation techniques should not remain in the level of novice thinking but instead proceed gradually towards greater challenges.

New Trends in Evaluation

Conceptions of knowledge and learning have experienced changes in the past few decades after the cognitive turn. As a result, there have been attempts to develop new assessments better corresponding with modern psychology of learning. Current evaluation literature emphasizes assessment of authentic learning outcomes, processes instead of products, higher order thinking instead of rote learning. (See for instance Brown et al. 1992, 132-133; Eisner 1993, 226-227; Royer et al. 1993, 202.)

Traditional school assessment has focussed mainly on the products of learning processes. It has included examinations or tests, written assignments, or handicrafts, for instance. Product evaluation is still a common practice, mainly in knowledge-based subjects.

However, new trends in evaluation emphasize following-up, understanding and supporting student learning processes. Evaluation is understood to be dynamic and continuous, its object is the current learning and thinking, not the fruits of past processes. This is closely related to the framework of ecological validity, which means that assessment situations should be highly natural, resembling normal teaching and learning situations.

Furthermore, it is essential to evaluate procedural knowledge, answering the questions

how and why, and cognitive skills, instead of declarative knowledge. Assessments should take into account how students put the pieces of information together and form integrated wholes of it, instead of knowing discrete elements. More emphasis is given to the quality of answer content, instead of the amount of information in it.

In addition to being learning-based, new assessments are student-oriented, or student-centered. Assessment is seen as a tool for supporting students' personal and cognitive development and growth. In the case of social studies, this may refer to development as an individual member of society.

According to constructivism, evaluation should shed light on student processes and dynamism of knowledge construction. In this sense, the conception of knowledge is highly individual, psychological and pragmatic; it accepts various interpretations of the same content. What is essential, is the individual construction or interpretation, the individual storage of information. Thus the teacher assessing the learning outcomes may be faced with highly personal assignments. (Harnisch & Mabry, 182-183; Björkqvist 1994, 21-23)

One of the new trends is authentic assessment which means that evaluation tends to be focussed on tasks that have relevance in life outside schools and are meaningful in their own right, not only as items of assessment. Newmann and Archbald (1992, 72-75) derive the criteria of authentic assessment from the activities of adult professionals, such as scholars or craftsmen. It is characteristic of the activities that they produce new knowledge instead of repeating what is already known. Moreover, this is based on disciplined inquiry, which requires becoming acquainted with an existing body of knowledge, understanding the problem, and integrating the knowledge into an organized whole.

The meaning of these new assessments has not been defined clearly in the field of social studies. Still less emphasis is given to their consequences in this field.

New Assesments in Social Studies

Traditional school assessments in social studies are probably rather unsatisfactory in the framework of new thinking of evaluation. In practice, they may often be rather mechanical, recitation of facts, controlling the mastery of limited fragments. Essay-type tasks are considered in educational literature to be suitable for assessing higher level learning, due to the complex sub-skills they are claimed to measure, such as organizing knowledge, understanding causal relations, and the skills of comparison and evaluation (Quellmalz 1990, 511-512; Virta 1995, 43-50). However, the student may pass the examination although he or she merely repeats information or fails to focus the task properly, if the examiner reads only the facts of the answer, not the thought processes or the structure of the answer. If applied carefully, essay answers could meet the requirements of, for example, cognitive and qualitative assessment.

New trends of evaluation can be fruitful in the field of social studies. However, there are some reservations, due to the fact that this school subject carries the heavy tradition of teacher-centered instruction and knowledge transmission. The author wants to present the following problems, which must be seen as challenges, not as obstacles.

1. How do we evaluate the quality of written or oral learning outcomes in a convincing and reliable manner? For instance in the assessment of essay-type answers, it is easier to deal with the amount than the quality.
2. How do we trace the learning processes, how do we assess the impressions created by quickly passing situations? It is obvious that the teacher should have some concrete evidence of student learning in these situations.
3. We should emphasize student-oriented, flexible assessments that are open to individual differences. We should anyway be aware of the risks of false subjectivism. Openness to versatile constructions and interpretations cannot mean accepting serious mistakes; any interpretations cannot be judged as correct and acceptable.
4. In a subject such as social studies it is highly problematic to evaluate higher order thinking skills, because the processes must be approached indirectly, on the basis of written or oral discourses. It is not self-evident that the verbal expressions are identical with student's thinking. Instruments for the evaluation of intellectual skill are not yet well developed.

Newmann (1992) considers that the central indicator of achievement in social studies is the discourse produced by the student, either written or oral, and it can be structured in the narrative, argumentative, explanatory or analytic form. What is important is that the discourse is a result of independent thinking and integration of knowledge, expressed in the student's own words, not only repeating given information. The tasks consist of novel problems that require the student to use knowledge in a new manners.

Baker (1994) has developed performance assessments in history. There is also interesting research on concept mapping as an alternative to tasks requiring primarily written response (Herl et al. 1996). Other instruments for continuing evaluation are projects with their products, where the teacher can follow up the progress of the work by observing and by student diaries and notes. Also student portfolios are suitable in social studies evaluation. Various elements can be included in it, from practical tasks, reports, interviews, media follow-up tasks to highly personal self-evaluations where the student may reflect on his or her own relation to society. Thus the tasks can be very closely connected to the student's life-world, and they can describe the individual strength and development of the student better than traditional forms of assessment.

The problem in most traditional assessment practices in social studies is that they measure information that may have little personal relevance for the students - the content has meaning for them only as the instrument of showing competence. Authentic assessment presupposes that there are close connections to the student's experiences. It is, however, evident that in the field of social studies the evaluation cannot be totally authentic in this sense. The curriculum contains also such elements that are worth understanding although they are not yet the reality of young students.

An Attempt to Analyze Essay Answers

One indicator of student achievement in Finland is the outcomes of the matriculation examination of the upper secondary school. Social studies tasks are included in the realia sub-test of the examination. At the end of the upper secondary school the students are about 18 - 19 years old. The realia test consists of items of various subjects, history and social studies, chemistry, biology, psychology. The student can concentrate on one subject, or choose tasks from several subjects. Thus not nearly all examinees choose history or social studies tasks.

A written essay or essay-type answer can be defined as a conceptual construction that the student composes from her/his knowledge and ideas on the subject. It reflects skills of integrating knowledge, and the thought processes and knowledge structures underlying the text.

The author has in her doctor's thesis (Virta 1995) in the field of education analyzed history and social studies realia answers from 12 schools in the matriculation examination in spring 1990. The total number of essays, 1103 from 367 participants, was almost equally divided among topics of history and social studies (including law). The object of the study was to investigate the quality and structure of the students' knowledge of history and social studies as epitomized in essays. In the study the author used methods of qualitative content analysis. The methods of classification and analysis were developed for the study, partly on the basis of the SOLO taxonomy of Biggs and Collis, and the propositional discourse analysis developed by van Dijk and Kintsch. The data were analyzed in three different phases.

The content analysis indicated that the answers were at best coherent, logical and analytical, problem-oriented, but only a very small number of the essays exhibited coherence and depth of treatment. A typical answer consisted of fairly diverse factual content expressed as brief statements and lacking any attempt towards more profound treatment of topic. The data also contained a large number of fragmentary essays, the major weakness being their meager content. There were a few verbally affluent essays that in spite of length contained very little relevant information.

A conspicuously common problem in essays was the lack of the focus of the answer and unsuccessful specification of the question. This was especially frequent in assignments that required explaining, comparing, contrasting or evaluating. It is likely that students are more accustomed to writing down whatever information they have on the topic than analyzing or discussing the content from a given point of view. For example interpreting social phenomena has on the basis of this material caused difficulty. They have adopted information, but do not succeed in producing a personal discourse on it.

One of the sub-analyzes in the study consisted of a detailed analysis of essay content, with the sample of six heterogeneous samples. Firstly, the content structure of the essays was dealt with by analyzing the content of each essay into its sub-components, with reference to their depth and relevance. Secondly, the level of coherence of the essays and the nature of semantic relations that integrate the knowledge components were examined. Interesting differences were found between history essays and social studies essays.

In general, the contentually most global answers were the most integrated factual hierarchies and they also exhibited a versatile and often deep treatment of content. Whereas the higher level answers consisted of multifaceted development of the themes, and multilayered chains of deduction, in the weak answers information was expressed as laconic statements, incoherent lines of reasoning or fragments.

Especially higher level history answers had often been structured on the basis of clear temporal relations, as a well structured process of change or as a line of development. The answer often included a causal relationship. Other organizational principles in history answers were description of action and events from the point of view of problems and solutions. The occurrence of these kind of organizational principles in essays is natural in the light of the narrative character of historical knowledge. There was no equally apparent organizational principle in the social studies essays. The answers were frequently organized on the basis of mutually subordinated specification relations. On the basis of the essays it is, however, possible to infer that a number of students have both learned and consequently express in writing their knowledge of the society as set sequential phases.

The essays exhibited primarily the habit of expressing knowledge as simple statements, not very often reflection, argumentation or explaining. Many students seemed to have difficulties in producing a longer written assignment. The matriculation examination is a very demanding test where students have to exhibit their mastery of various subjects in a short period of time. The conditions may thus have caused those superficial strategies of learning. In six hours the students have to produce several essays (in 1990 totally 10, at present 8), and the lack of time has most certainly affected the quality of content.

The results of the study indicate that in teaching more emphasis should be placed on individual ways of learning and on the application of the learned content and on the structuring of the knowledge into consistent integrated structures. If the teaching practice is focussed on the hurried transmission of content and it is not until the examination that the student is challenged to use the content and formulate it into written discourse, it is no wonder that the assignments do not exhibit coherence or integration or personal insights. Anyway, as to the learning of social studies, there is so much more in it than adopting factual information.

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History Education, Cultural Identity and Practice

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In this presentation the problem of combining knowledge of the subject matter of history with children's knowledge from community and family life will be illustrated and discussed.

I have conducted two teaching experiments with cultural minority children. One as a one year after-school project with Puerto Rican children in New York City. This was done together with Seth Chaiklin and Pedro Pedraza connected to the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, New York City University. The other project was a two year project initiated by the Council of Aarhus as a school project for young Palestinian boys which the ordinary Danish public schools in Aarhus could not handle.

The objective of both projects was to create teaching experiences which were (1) meaningful for the children (2) contributed to their acquisition of skill and knowledge and (3) created a positive identity and an acceptance of their cultural backgrounds. This was created through teaching social history with a focus on the children's cultural background as well as the society in which they lived.

Before I enter into the description of the actual teaching experiment I will outline my theoretical inspiration from Vygotsky by conceptualizing the relation between everyday knowledge and scientific concepts, the zone of proximal development and relate this inspiration to Berger and Luckmann's theory of social identity formation.

Everyday Knowledge and Scientific Concepts

Vygotsky (1982) has pointed out that there are differences between the kind of knowledge children acquire at home and the kind of knowledge they meet in school. The knowledge children meet in these two different contexts he characterized as everyday and scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge can be characterized by domain specific concepts where the domains are the different science/school subjects. Everyday knowledge can be characterized by concepts connected to the domain of daily family and community life. Scientific concepts are learned in a special context of school life which are characterized by special procedures for teaching and learning. Everyday concepts are learned through a person's everyday practice.

Today we find the same kind of differentiation between everyday and school knowledge within a group of socio-cultural researcher. Scribner (1996), Scribner & Cole (1981), Lave (1992, 1996) Mercer (1992) and Hatano & Ignaki (1992) all point to the importance of context for the kind of concepts the children acquire and the characteristics of their learning. Each of these researchers point out that scientific and abstract concepts are not context-free but are situated inside the context of school and the specific domains of school knowledge.

The different fields of life, - school, home, and work with their different forms of practice give different conditions for children's concept-formation and thinking both in form and content. Scribner (1989, 1993) and Lave (1988, 1992) have both through their research findings pointed to the different ways mathematics are learned and used within the context of school and the context of work. One problem in school-teaching they point out is to connect to everyday life in a way so that it widens and develops the children's abilities. Another question is to motivate children to do this. Ogbu (1987, 1988) in his research with minority children point out that school problems for black children should be seen in perspective of who the children identify with and the negative values this identification often gives to school attendance and work (Ogbu, 1987, 1988).

The relation between scientific knowledge and everyday knowledge is described by Vygotsky as two form of knowledge development that both develop and enrich each other. Everyday knowledge is a precondition for the child to start to learn scientific knowledge, but everyday knowledge development does not stop being important. Everyday knowledge is the knowledge that is functional for a person. Scientific knowledge can

transcend into everyday knowledge through the person's use of acquired scientific concepts in his practice in everyday life.

We cannot directly get help from Vygotsky to describe how this transformation takes place but I will try to outline how I conceptualize the transformation. It is here that good school teaching and the cooperation between home and school becomes important. The home is important first by giving the child the foundation of knowledge. The school has to take care to proceed from this foundation in instruction. Second the family is important to motivate the child to attend school. But then it is also important that the school acknowledge the social identity and the motivation the child brings to school developed through family and community life.

How knowledge in school is related to social and cultural identity development is the important question in the next part of this presentation.

Ideals and Social Identity

I am interested in the potential contribution of schooling to the development of children's personality as a whole containing cognitive, social, and emotional aspects. Development as a whole implies a capability to function within and outside the school setting with a positive emotional and social relation to other people as well as positive acceptance of oneself. From my own experience and from published reports I have noted that children from cultural minorities encounter serious difficulties during their time in schools. It does not appear likely that academic difficulties can be explained solely by reference to a list of cultural differences in everyday life activities. What seems critical instead is the minorities' interpretation of their situation: What do the parents want their children to get from school? What are the social supports that come from the immigrant society? The minority children's success or difficulties in school have to be seen as an interaction between several factors, where the minority community's values and expectation to the outcome of school attendance play an important part.

To conduct culturally sensitive teaching that improves cultural minority children's learning and development the cultural perspective has to be explicated. This means that development should be considered from the perspective of ideals of personality formation. Mediation of societal knowledge should be considered from the perspective of cultural practice and events. The relation between learning and instruction should reflect both educational goals of personality formation and acquisition of skill and knowledge relevant for cultural practice and events.

Following Vygotsky, El'konin thought that **the ideal form, the archetype of adulthood**, is a key category that posits the integrity of childhood. The archetype of adulthood, the archetype of a perfect (ideal), adult is the only means by which, and the only basis upon which, children can imagine their future. (B.D. El'konin, 1992 p. 57).

El'konin points to a second aspect central to development: that there must be some ideal models of adulthood; this second aspect is that these models of adulthood must have the possibility to be combined with real life through "events". The child's life and the adult's model of life have to be eventful. El'konin then points to the importance of the adult's role as a teacher or mediator of the relation between the model of adulthood and the eventful life of the child. This role can be seen within the perspective of the ZPD (zone of proximal development). Within this perspective the task of the adult is to help the child to move from the level of actual events and capacities to the level of possible events and capacities.Berger and Luckmann's (1966) theory of socialization can be seen as steps towards understanding the adult both in the role as parent and teacher, as a mediator between ideals and the child's formation of his own identity and goals.

Berger and Luckmann differentiate between ***primary and secondary socialization*** are the two general processes that build and maintain social identity.

Primary socialization begins a process of internalization, which results in a person becoming inducted as a member of a society. Significant others in a child's life (e.g., parents, siblings, extended family members) mediate the social world to the child. This mediated world is a selected or filtered version of the objective social world depending on the significant others' objective relation to and subjective interpretation of their objective social structure. A child identifies emotionally with significant others, taking on their roles, attitudes and values as his own. Through this internalization the child becomes able to identify himself as having a place in a specific social world.

Secondary socialization is the process by which an already socialized individual is inducted into other objective sub-worlds of his society. Role-specific knowledge of these sub-worlds and how to function in them are internalized to become part of the basic world view the child acquired through his primary socialization.

Differences between the social world learned through primary socialization and the sub-worlds learned through secondary socialization are

manifold. First, in primary socialization the child has no choice but to live in the world defined by parents (or primary caretakers), while with secondary socialization, the specific persons who are doing the socializing are not essential as significant others. Many persons could fill the same role. In the school, the teacher does not automatically become a significant other for the child. As Berger and Luckman say: "it is necessary to love one's mother, but not one's teacher" (p. 161). Second, emotional identification is the primary learning process during primary socialization, while other, more consciously-designed processes and techniques are needed to induct a child into the role required in the institutional sub-worlds. Third, during secondary socialization it is easier for a child to put some distance between himself and others. For example, it is easier for the child to walk out of the classroom into another social world, leaving the knowledge that was mediated there. As a consequence, the child starts to become conscious of the contexts of learning. This consciousness includes an awareness that the world acquired from his or her parents is not the only reality, that there are other ways of living than his own, and that he has a particular social location that may contrast with the societal interests of others in the child's milieu (e.g., teacher or social worker). It is the more consciously-designed processes and techniques needed to induct a child into the role required in the institutional sub-worlds of school and after school activities that instruction and teaching in school focus upon.

History teaching

In the 19th century, history has been an important subject matter in the Scandinavian schools. The narrative form of knowledge characterised history teaching until the 1950s. In the earliest days of school, the aim of teaching history was the formation of a national identity. In the 1950s, a massive change took place in Scandinavia, from an agricultural society to a highly industrialised welfare society. The change was institutionalised through the school curriculum. When school reforms were made after the Second World War, a change from a narrative to an empirical (information-oriented) history curriculum took place (Historiedidaktik i Norden 2-3, 1985-1988; Sødring-Jensen, 1978; Hedegaard, 1998a). Today, the value of the narrative form of teaching history is again promoted by several researchers in history didactics (Historiedidaktik i Norden 3, 1988; Sødring-Jensen,1990). The argument is, as in the 19th century, that this form of knowledge is important to the formation of the children's personality and identity.

In the following I will argue that having a theoretical knowledge frame for this task is important, both for teaching cultural majority and cultural minority children history that will be able to effect their psychological development.

The goal of history instruction is to help children acquire an integrated image of the central concepts of history which can become a tool for their understanding and analysing historical and present day societies (Hedegaard 1998a). Teaching theoretical knowledge is aimed at this objective. Acquired theoretical knowledge in the form of germ cells can be characterised as mental tools for further explorations that can relate to the children's personal life.

How to teach theoretical knowledge of history to minority children can be exemplified with the two projects: the after-school project with Puerto Rican children and the school project for Palestinian boys.

The two teaching Experiments

The objectives of the two teaching experiments presented here--the after-school project with Puerto Rican children and the school project for Palestinian boys were to give the students an understanding of ways of living in two different countries in different historical periods--before and after the main immigration/flight.

The goal of history instruction was to help the children to acquire an integrated image of the central concepts of history, which could function as a tool for their understanding and analyzing their own historical and present day society. Acquired theoretical knowledge in the form of core models can be characterized as mental tools for explorations that can relate scientific concepts to the children's personal life experiences.

In the Puerto Rican project, the goal of the teaching was to make the children pay attention to the connections between **societal resources**, **family life**, and **living conditions** in **Puerto Rico** and **New York City** at the **beginning of the 20th century** and present-day living conditions in their **own East Harlem community** and **New York City.**

In the Palestinian project it was to make the children pay attention to the relation between **nature**, **way of living**, and **society** in the **Middle East countries** and **Denmark**, and how this relation has changed dramatically during different historical periods.

Teaching Method: The Double Move in Teaching

The teaching method can be characterized as a double move between the upper and lower zone of the proximal development of both the single child and a school class.

The upper level of the zone of proximal development includes normative aspects of development. In a school class the direction of development is guided by instruction of scientific concepts specified as important both by curriculum plans and by the teacher. Through instruction the scientific concepts should relate to and become the child's everyday concepts.

To teach inside the zone of proximal development demands that the teacher can combine the knowledge and skill children have acquired in their daily life in day-care and home with the knowledge of the different subject domains. At the same time the teacher has to work with a whole group of children and understand how to relate to the zone of proximal development of the whole group.

The application of a zone of proximal development approach to school teaching is possible because children who start school have some common knowledge through the tradition for practice shared by the community. Second, it becomes possible through instruction that supports the children's cooperation in exploration of a subject domain to construct a shared zone of proximal development inside which the teacher has the possibility to guide the children's exploration.

This I have interpreted as a double move between subject matter knowledge and knowledge from everyday family and community life (Hedegaard, 1998b).

The principles of the double move teaching method is that the teacher guides the instruction from the general conceptual relations of a core model of the subject matter area (social history) while at the same time takes the children's "fund of knowledge" into consideration. The teacher structures the activity in the class as a research activity through formulating a task for research of the children's community and history. Practical activities such as a museum visit, neighborhood analyses, film, picture and novel reading become important activities connected to specific tasks. The aim is to mediate the general relations of the core model to the children through their research activities (Hedegaard, 1995).

The After-School Project with Puerto Rican Children

Puerto Rican children are often stigmatized at school. In order to strengthen their educational proficiency, we believed that it was necessary for them to have a positive concept of their membership of a Puerto Rican community (minority) in New York City. We hoped that this would lead to their forming a more positive attitude to their school attendance and school subjects in general. Since the children belonged to a primarily Puerto Rican community we thought that teaching about the history of this community would give them some insight into the positive aspects of belonging to this community and make them feel positive about their own cultural identity.

The history-teaching program described here ran for one school year. Fifteen children between 8 and 12 years of age attended the program. The program was located in a community center in East Harlem together with a literacy program for adult women.

The children from the after-school center were offered homework to support their schoolwork because of their bilingual family background. The children could choose the teaching program as an extra activity two days a week.

The teaching was based on three topics: the life conditions in Puerto Rico in the early 20th century (when immigration first began); living conditions in New York City for the first immigrants; and life conditions in the present Puerto Rican community in East Harlem.

These topics were chosen because we expected that:

1) Subject matter knowledge, - that can connect to the children's own history and present community, - might create motivation for subject-matter learning.
2) Connecting knowledge of family life and values of Puerto Rican families with subject matters in school can improve the Puerto Rican children's concept formation and skill acquisition in reading and writing. Literacy as a skill also has a content, and through working with a content that is both objective meaningful and has personal sense we expected this would promote literacy as well as historical knowledge.

The problem domain of social history was made into a research area for the children by the following problem formulations: What are our roots? What are the characteristics of the society we live in today? How do we relate to this society as members of a Puerto Rican community? These

questions focus on the living conditions in the community and how these conditions are formed in relation to the larger society of New York City of which the Puerto Rican community in East Harlem is a part. We created tasks for the children to explore these problems by examining the Puerto Rican tradition for family life and the resources found in their community for a good life. The results were formulated into a core model which guided the creating of tasks for the children (shown in Fig.1).

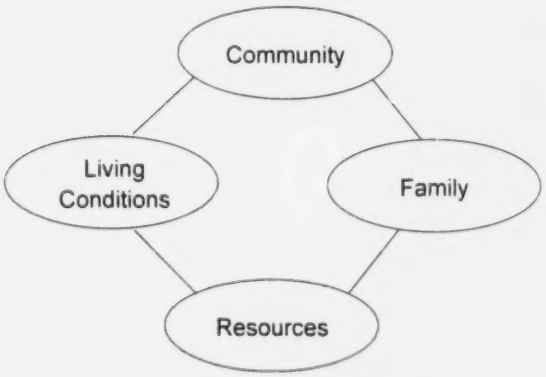

Fig. 1 Coremodel depicting conceptual relations between community type, family life, resources and living conditions

The conceptual relations of the core model were introduced through a variety of forms. For example, we used pictures of family life in Puerto Rico at the turn of the century to contrast with family life and work in New York City, interviews with parents about living conditions in "the old days" in Puerto Rico/New York City, novels and films about children's life in Puerto Rico and New York City.

The School Project with Palestinian Boys

The boys who were offered to attend this school project came from the Danish public school where they had experienced several years of disappointments. They were between 12 and 15 years of age and had been in Denmark for about 5 or 6 years. They were characterized as learning disabled boys with serious behavioral problems. When they started this school project they all had problems with reading and writing Danish and even greater problems with reading and writing Arabic which was offered as one of the school subjects. The school started as a prevention project to keep the boys off the streets and to keep them out of trouble. The school could accomodate up to 16 boys, but the first two years the number was around 8 to 10 boys. These children had an insubstantial knowledge about the country with which they were associated as their country of origin-- Palestine, born refugees as several of their parents. Furthermore, their knowledge of the Danish society were also meager. Their parents have had little possibility to teach them since they were almost all unemployed - on welfare payments. The parents therefore only have a very insubstantial relation to the Danish society.

The boys have had a very harsh school life, their cultural knowledge and identity were vague when they started in the school project with 5 or 6 years of unhappy school attendance.

In spite of this fact, the consultant persuaded the school board to let the institution become a school with teaching as its primary objective. My hypothesis was that these boys could actually be taught, and that learning and motivation could easily become developed because in their cultural group--the Palestinians- -education has a high value. Furthermore, I supposed that their violent behavior had been developed as a shield to cover their missing school competence. We assumed that the disciplinary problems could be worked with in connection with creating a school day for these boys.

Furthermore, we presumed that these boys--because they were in the puberty age--wanted to find a standing place to relate to--who they were and what they wanted for themselves in the future. We presumed that it was important for their development to experience and respect themselves as Palestinian young people with a future in Denmark. We decided to work with these forward-oriented perspectives from the theory of teaching within the zone of proximal development instead of working with the perspective of the past--that they were boys from families with traumatic experiences. We ascribed importance to the parents' opinions about the school and their support to the boys' schooling and we wanted to involve the parents, especially the fathers, in the boys' school day. When contacted, the fathers were always willing to come to the school and stay for some hours, but we did not succeed in drawing directly on the fathers as resources for the teaching.

The primary task was to teach the boys to read and write, based on a content they could understand. We did not start by using any ordinary school books, but instead the boys created their own words and sentences. The content of teaching was taken seriously, and the cultural aspect was a part of the teaching.

The way of teaching history, and relating to the basic problem of the history subject, was based on

the same type of questions as with the Puerto Rican children: What are our roots? What are the characteristics of the society we live in today? How do we relate to this society as Palestinian boys with a future in Denmark?

The teaching succeeded with respect to motivating the children for school attendance and schoolwork. When interviewed half a year after the school started these boys, who by the public school system were evaluated as not teachable, asked for a longer school day and got it. And they came to school every day unless they were really ill. One year later they again asked for more teaching. Two years after the school project had been initiated, the council evaluated the project so positively that they decided the school should become a permanent school.

Within these first two years the boys had improved much in relation to where they were at the beginning of this teaching experiment both motivationally and with subject-matter learning. The boys came to master reading, writing and mathematics to a reasonable degree, they could read easy novels, write small letters. Their mathematics skills became age adequate. But after two years their knowledge of Danish and Palestinian social history was still weak.

Discussion of the two Experimental Teaching Projects

I interpret these teaching experiments as supporting Vygotsky theory of the interaction between everyday concept and scientific concept in teaching. Acquisition of subject matter knowledge on the one hand extends the meaning of everyday knowledge and on the other hand subject matter concepts can only be understood and become functional for the child if they build on the child's everyday knowledge. If teaching succeeds in creating this relation the child will be able to use the learned subject matter knowledge as tools for analyzing and reflecting on his everyday activities. The subject matter knowledge thereby becomes integrated with the child's everyday knowledge and can develop into functional concepts for the child where content and form define each other.

The coherence and dialectic between the abstract and concrete aspects of a subject area in a conceptual system is an important step towards understanding how general knowledge can be combined with personal experience and become part of both the person's conceptual understanding of the physical and social world and his personal identity in this context. The emotional and motivational aspects of knowledge gives direction to the acquisition of knowledge where the adult functions first as an identification object then as a mediator as described by Elkonin and Berger and Luckmann. This theoretical outline raises question about the parents and teachers as identification object and of the emotional relation between home, teacher and children to get a more full picture of how conceived knowledge transforms into active knowledge.

In the project with the Puerto Rican children the main problem was formulated as the children's negative feelings about being Puerto Ricans. This was hypothesized as an important reason for their negative experiences and attitudes about school attendance and schoolwork.

Through the teaching program the children became acquainted with aspects of their cultural heritage and acquired some knowledge about their own past and knowledge about positive aspects of their community. This knowledge acquisition contributed to their social identity in a positive way. I will conclude that in the project we succeeded with changing the children's motivation for learning.

In the project with the Puerto Rican children as well as in the project with the Palestinian boys the problem was how to combine everyday experience with subject-matter concepts. The teaching experiment with Puerto Rican children has been used as a source of inspiration for the teaching experiment with the Palestinian boys. But we did not transform directly the type of material used with the Puerto Rican children to teaching material for the Palestinian boys. These difficulties were not only related to cultural differences but also for the Palestinian boys with differences in the level of experiences with their own culture.

How the central concepts of history could be meaningful to the children differed in the two projects-- the Palestinian boys project and the Puerto Rican children's project. One of the differences in teaching history in the two projects were differences in content and structure of the children's everyday knowledge in the two projects. The content and structure of everyday knowledge were much more developed for the Puerto Rican children than for the Palestinian boys. We used narratives and interviews with the Puerto Rican children from the start. In contrast, the Palestinian boys had to learn to listen to novels, and although they enjoyed to be read to, it took several months before they were able to tell about the content of the novels. In both projects we had the children interview persons about their ways of living and working. The interview activity was very motivating for the children and succeeded in both projects, but after the interviews were taken the

Palestinian boys did not become able to draw on this knowledge or even remember it very well. In contrast, the Puerto Rican children often spontaneously made references to an old man they interviewed and what he told them. This difference may have several reasons, but my interpretation is that everyday knowledge, as pointed out by Vygotsky, can be of a different complexity and the Palestinian boys' experiences with any material connected to their own culture were so meager that this experience also had to be created in the school. The Puerto Rican children had much more daily contact with the Puerto Rican way of living, values and personal relations. These aspects were much more public through family and street activities and through contact and visits to family in Puerto Rico.

The school child's motive- and cognitive development are connected through the activities the child takes part in together with other people in everyday family routines and activities, leisure time activities as well as study activities connected to school life. To become developmental these activities have to take place inside the zone of proximal development. The aim of teaching inside zone of proximal development is to support the students to acquire theoretical knowledge that can relate to the events and experiences of the child everyday knowledge so this knowledge become integrated into a conceptual system and can thereby function as mental skill.

Subject matter knowledge and everyday knowledge can enrich each other within the zone of proximal development. Everyday knowledge can be a precondition for children to learn subject matter knowledge, but everyday knowledge development does not stop being important. On the contrary, subject matter knowledge has to become integrated into everyday knowledge through educational activity, to surpass the walls of the school into life outside school and to become functional relevant for children.

To understand how the adult can influence and instruct through "eventful" teaching a theory of knowledge has to be taken into consideration.

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News media Education in Democratic Societies: a Means to Reforming Social Studies?

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News Media in Democratic Societies

In any society that professes to be democratic there must be public access to news and information. For public political institutions to function democratically there must be news sources that are free from government interference and news media that are a ready means for citizens to express their views on public issues. Keeping in mind that getting information is not in itself education, it is even more important that citizens be educated to evaluate information and viewpoints and learn avenues for responding.

Therefore, education about the news media is of great significance to democratic citizenship. Why then is it seldom part of social studies teacher education and student education in the U.S.? Generally civic education stresses knowledge of the 3 branches of government, the separation of powers, representation, and the law-making process. But analytical studies of mass or public news sources are low on the list. Although the U.S. Civics Standards do mention the media, the need for analytical studies of communications is not directly addressed, and it is left to individual educators to devlop media literacy or critical viewing and listening.

Remarkable Changes in Media Use and News Formats

In the U.S. until the mid 70s, "news media" referred mainly to newspapers, news magazines and radio news and only peripherally to television news broadcasts. Since the 70s television has gradually increased in popularity to become the main source of news. TV viewing nationally averages about 56 hours per week in the U.S. now. For about 65% of Americans, television has become the only source of news. The Internet is becoming a quick and useful source of news, but it currently serves mainly middle class Americans. While its use for news and information is clearly expanding daily, television still provides a heavy input of communication to less prosperous Americans.

Ideally in a democracy the news media are to provide the fuel that will kindle interest in issues and discussion, argument, and open political discourse. The quality of that conversation. depends on the quality of the news the people receive and the interpretive and evaluative skills gained from education. Considering the depth of news, most television coverage is brief and superficial. Keep in mind that for a majority of our population TV news is all that they get. News reporters seem more concerned about this than educators. I've organized about 30 pre-election media workshops for teachers. Every TV news anchor, TV political analyst, CNN reporter, or local TV news person who participated stated unequivocally that TV news must be supplemented with print news if the public is to gain understanding of significant local, state, or national issues.) Even the viewers of public television receive only selected segments of news. Bill Moyers, nationally prominent TV news analyst, complains that usual news broadcasts are no longer guided by standards and practices of the news dissemination, but instead, TV news is motivated by the goals of show business. Audience-size and advertising profits drive the contents into entertainment and celebrity gossip.

This daily mixture makes news hardly distinguishable from entertainment, and there is increasing evidence that these formats are influencing American newspapers. As news consumers get used to short, fast-clipped TV news bytes, then newspapers editors feel compelled to modify the front page with hasty blurbs of national news mixed with gossip items about movie stars and sports figures and include large colored photos that are the trade marks of local TV news -- mangled autos, police chases, or weeping relatives of a victim. Communications research repeatedly shows that over-personalization of news obscures

the public issues involved and leaves viewers, however engaged in the tragedy, thinking of the individual's problem, not the broader societal problem.

If one analyzes Internet news presentation, such as CNN, local newspaper sites, even the NY Times on the web, one is likely find colorful introductory configurations on the screen more like TV than newspapers. Nevertheless, if one follows up on a national or international story one can get greater depth of news than from TV programs and be able to print it out and read it at one's own pace. But the Internet presents major problems regarding reliability and veracity -- something educators must be fully aware of. Because anyone can get on the Internet and "broadcast," questions of accuracy, reliability, and authenticity are greatly heightened. Even generally reliable news people using the web have been deceived into reporting false information --that Suharto was dead before he really was; that Bob Hope was dead; that missiles shot down a TWA airliner, and so forth. The Internet as a news media source truly dramatizes the need for critical, comparative, analytical studies of the media, not just in the U. S. but in all open societies.

So, the necessity for news media education -- including all forms of news communication--is evident in all democratic societies. However, the need to institutionalize these studies is probably greater in the U.S. than in other democracies, such as Norway.

Media literacy studies including news source and news content studies is not well established in U.S. social studies or even in other subjects. J. A. Brown who reviewed media education in the U.S. found that while Canada, Australia, and European countries were developing programs to integrate the teaching of critical viewing skills throughout the 1980s and 90s, there was little attention to electronic media literacy and media effects in the U.S.

A Means to Reform Social Studies?

News media education can be a valuable contribution to social studies reform in the U.S. As many of us in the SSEC have bemoaned for years, a missing element in far too many social studies classrooms is the excitement of democratic life - controversial public issues. The fundamental public policy process of controversy, conflict, and compromise can be taught far better when we use the news in education. Using news requires attention to the sources and presentation of the news.

To motivate such teaching American social studies teachers will need both background and guidance. But when one examines the textbooks that shape teacher education, there is little or no discussion of the electronic media lifestyle in the U.S. and what that implies for methods of social studies teaching. Likewise social studies programs are deficient in examining the great influence of the media on students. The influence and power of this form of communication should be part of the content of history, civics, economics, geography, and general social studies classes.

Social studies teachers would benefit from preparation for: 1) conducting comparative analysis of media and leading students in assessing the relative advantages of newspapers, radio, television, magazines, and the Internet as well as the comparative limitations; and 2) critical analysis of media effects on the society as a whole (Are we "bowling alone?") and on various groups of individuals (e.g., the elderly in various situations; youth in various types of home situations); and 3) analysis of images and sounds as well as thier use in print, television and computer communications to influence the consumer's behavior. This is a socio-psychological approach to social studies, but that's not new.

The study of propaganda techniques in print material has been standard in the curriculum for some years. But today we need more. Education must advance social studies student awareness of the possible sources of bias from the angle of the TV news camera, the broadcast of selected sound bites, and the lighting and the music in the background. Study of the effects of various technical and editing factors on news recipients is a necessary part of social science and social studies research and, consequently, of education in these subjects. How can we gain reliable knowledge from the most relied upon sources of information unless we know how that communication works and how it works on the viewer? The same need and the same questions apply to the Internet.

In both teacher education and student education I would urge that we move beyond a narrow "how-to-use" technology approach. In the 70s when we taught teachers how to use the 16mm projector, seldom was the power of the motion picture discussed. Educators missed providing experience with media education in earlier years. Today in the U.S. the advance of communications research and psychological studies as well as the growing body of social science literature afford us opportunities to use a social-psychological approach to teaching with and about the news media in both teacher education and student education.

I've proposed a conceptual framework for news media to promote awareness, and analysis in the social studies. It's a beginning, based on Lewin's field theory. It focuses, on factors that influence the way individuals perceive their social-political environment and their personal role in it. Electronic media loom large in that environment today. We're trying to understand the patterns of influences that shape cognitive structures and motivate behaviors related to democratic citizenship. In addition to news content analysis, social education requires examination of the media effects on attention-span, recall, issue awareness, social fears, anger toward others, social-political perceptions, shifts of opinion, and subsequent actions of the most and least impressionable viewers/users.

Perhaps this framework can promote reflection on how the mass media interact with other factors in the social-psychological environment to influence civility, tolerance, community service, political participation, and other important elements of citizen demeanor. Probably instruction in the skills of critical viewing, reading, and listening will be the most valuable contribution to democratic education.

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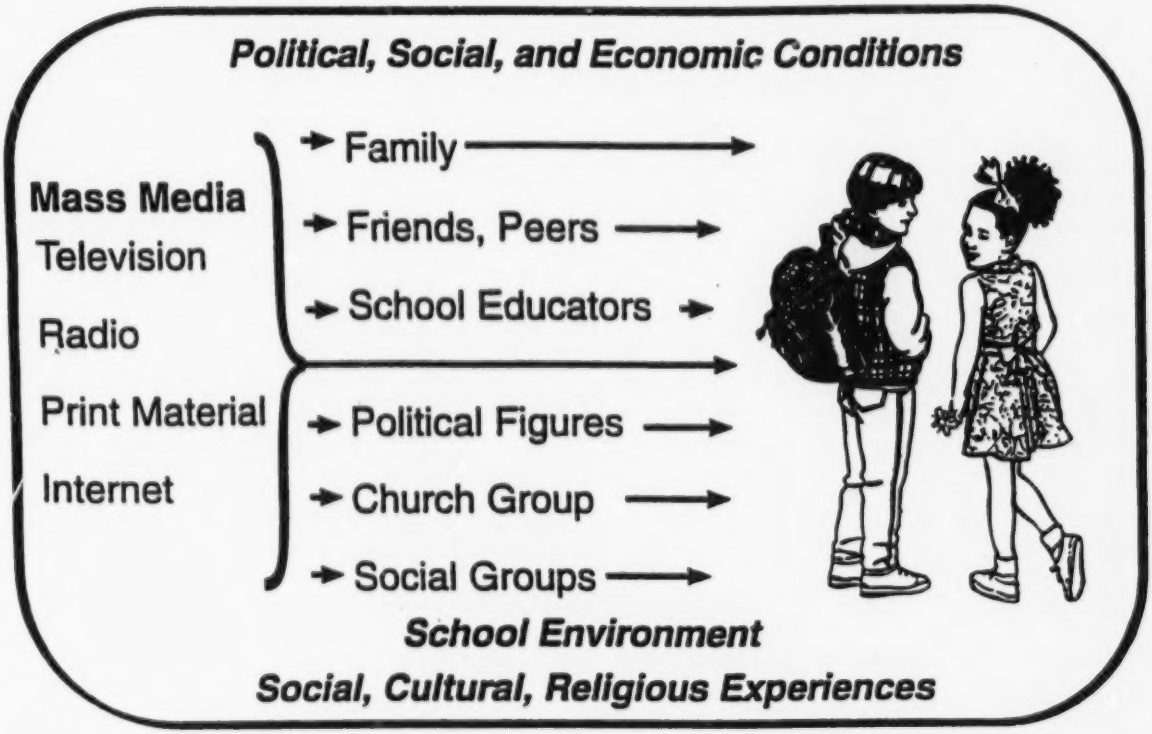
Civic Socialization: Field and Forces in the 1990s



Mary Hepburn, Vinson Institute of Government, The University of Georgia, 1997

News Media Education in Democratic Societies as a Means to Reforming Social Studies

Jan Vincens Steen

NiE Manager in Norway

Comments

Please allow me to speak from my position here in Norway, and also look at how the newspaper-business work in this field in other countries.

I define "social studies" as the "social studies" the students/pupils meet in primary and lower secondary schools, not necessarily the way this is taught in teacher- colleges and Universities.

My personal experiences are from the University as a student, from primary and lower secondary school as a teacher, and from Newspapers in Education(NiE) nationally and internationally.

I will focus on

- The plans the teachers have to follow in Norway
- NiE in Norway. What we do and why
- NiE abroad, different methods

To find out more about this group, the pupils and their feelings towards media/newspapers,

Magne Raundalen, a Norwegian child-psychologist and I have done research through gathering information(establishing youth-panels in Norway and Sweden in 1994,1996, and also 1998(October)) and analysing it.

We found that 15/16 years old youth were skeptical to the way they were treated by newspapers, and we also found that they are more optimistic to their own future than to the world's future. They want more articles about themselves, about schools/jobs/future-possibilities.

These surveys are meant to give us in NiE and the individual newspapers that do the interviews/establish the panels valuable information. But most important is our wish to establish a link between the youth and the editors.

In Norway it is fully possible to include and integrate news media education in primary schools. For us working with NiE we have our natural place in 3., 6th and 10th class in Norwegian language lessons. But there are even more, and maybe better, possibilities in other subjects than those that directly mention the use of newspapers and other media.

3. class

In learning the pupils must study pictures in books, in newspapers, and in their surroundings . And talk about what they are interested in.

6. class

In learning the pupils must read newspapers and look at what kind of news the desk has chosen for them. They shall do an interview, write and edit. They shall make a newspaper which is to be published at school or in the area where they live. They shall work with headlines, photos and layout.

10. class

At school the pupils shall learn to know some of the newspaper-titles. They must work with genres and study these over time. They shall make their own newspaper with its own profile, they shall study language, genre, the story behind the story, and how the newspapers present their stories visually.

In order to inspire the work with school-newspapers we arrange a yearly competition between schools where the best pages win. This year we arranged the competition for the tenth time, and for the first time we had an Internet-page as one of the winners. We had the National Centre for Educational resources as a partner this year, mainly because of their internet-experience.

However the plans the teacher has to follow (from 1997) are not as positive as the one from 1987. In 1987 teachers planned their teaching for three years ahead, now for only one year.

Teachers have more detailed plans to follow

than earlier and tighter schedules. This makes it more difficult than earlier to have a discussion when things happen. It`s a pity if you have to wait with a discussion on the elections in Ireland a few months until it fits in!!

What we would like to improve

In addition to natural subject like Norwegian language and "social studies" we have new sectors like the " schools` and pupils` choice", we have the element of "project/theme education" and cross-curriculum-activities.

The plans for Primary and lower secondary schools from 1997 says that project/theme-education should reflect the pupils experiences and interests, their local area and actuality, which makes news-media very useful.

What we would like to do/achieve is

- to use the news to motivate teaching and learning
- to help draw lines between now and past(e.g. Kosovo)
- to help the pupils understand that there is a link between school knowledge and the real world outside the classroom
- to motivate the student to go on investigating, finding out more about the topic
- to make the pupil design their own plan for this work, thus giving them the chance to participate in planning the content in what they are to learn.

Our main aim, the way we have defined it is:

> "NiE shall develop;
> -active and conscious newspaper readers
> -committed citizens through teaching with and about newspapers."

In other words, we stress that developing critical readers is important. We would like that the use of news in teaching is used in all subjects, not only social studies and mother tongue.

Our method is:

- *To produce workbooks*, e.g. in journalism, on the elections, on drugs, sports ,aids, etc. Our workbooks on the elections(local and national) are very popular. At the last elections we published a workbook for lower- and one for upper secondary school where one idea was "participation". Activities in connection with elections are important . My Argentinean NiE – colleague Roxana Morduchowiz said in 1995: "In new and re-established democracies it cannot be taken for granted that upcoming generations will adopt democratic modes of thinking and participation". Her concern could very much be the concern of established democratic countries like Norway and the USA.

  Next year we have local elections and plan to publish new workbooks together with the Educational department of the Parliament. Our plan is to involve every county and every political party, and to use both print media and internet, both for presentation of the material and to give the pupils problems to solve.

  We would like to see that the pupils start with reading the newspaper, and go to forums for discussion from there(school, home, internet, newspapers etc).
- *To arrange competitions*, etc e.g. news-quizzes regional and national, best schoolnewspaper-pages ..
- *To have activities on Internet*, e.g. newsquiz, archive service...

NiE experience

In Norway we work on a national level, regional (NiE consultants)and local(newspapers)

Local newspapers have ordinary services like allowing pupils to come to the newspaper or visiting the pupils in class. Some also publish special supplements, and/or small booklets on newstopics. *Aftenposten* in Norway does this, so does the *Guardian* in UK, *La Voz de Galicia* in Spain etc.

The Newspaper Associations and the individual newspapers around the world work with different methods and goals. More than 40 countries have NiE in 1997(Jan V Steen:NiE world survey 1997,fourth edition, W.A.N). USA was an early starter, we find an interesting newspaper-article as early as 1795(Portland Evening Herald(Maine):

> "Much has been said and written on the utility of newspapers, but one principal advantage which might be derived from these publications has been neglected; we mean that of reading them in schools and by the children in families. Do you want your child to improve in reading solely, give him a newspaper, do you wish to instruct him in geography....."

In 1912 Grace Faxon writes (Practical selections from Twenty years of Normal Instructor and Primary Plans):

> "A great deal is said of the narrowness of teachers. Whether they are any narrower than doctors, lawyers or merchants may be an open question, for the tendency of men and women in any profession is to confine themselves to too closely to their main idea, but I know of no surer way of escaping ruts than by interesting one's self in the affairs of the wide world. Take five minutes every day for informal discussion of the news of the preceding day. The minutes thus spent will do much for the future of the young people of the nation"

NiE around the world takes as I said different directions

1) **Journalists or Marketing people**
In France the Association Regions Presse –Enseignement-Jeunesse takes care of NiE. ARPEJ organises journalists in the regional press, and they make sure that the journalistic aspect is central. In France they do much work together with Centre de la Liaison de lènseignement et de Moyens d` Information(CLEMI), a media education-programme under the Education Department.
In the US NiE has a very commercial profile. More than 700 newspapers have NiE staff, and the content of the programmes are often very good, and much like the programmes in other countries. But they are tightly linked with circulation and sales. Keith Hartcourt who is doing his doctor's thesis in this field writes: "Touring schools with the Education Services Manager of one of the large city newspapers, I talked to teachers and suggested pedagogic techniques involving visits from newspaper staff bringing the paper into school and working with students such as existed in England. The idea gained ready acceptance from teachers but my host was visibly perturbed. Over lunch she finally said: I don't want to appear rude, but will you please stop suggesting all of these ideas to teachers. I don't go into classrooms, that's not my job. My job is to sell newspapers and get sponsorship."

2) **Short- or long-term- thinking**
Many NiE activities I have seen, also in Norway are happenings lasting for a day or five.
In Germany they have a tradition in working for four to six weeks(PROMEDIA) or three to six months (Institut Deutscher Objektivierung von Lern- und Prufungsverfahren-IZOP). Especially the PROMEDIA model is interesting and possible to adjust to other countries than Germany.
It is wise to work long-term with a smaller group of specially interested teachers. This is being planned here in Oppland by NiE consultant Per Tore Moen.

3) **Free newspapers reduced price, sponsors**
In Holland Krant in Klas (Dutch Newspapers in Education) has a variety of activities. But what I like most is the organised giving away newspapers for free to schools. Two-three million copies are given to schools every year in order to stimulate newspaper-reading.
We have slowly introduced this system in Norway too, the same thing happens in Finland.
In Germany and the USA most students/schools do not have to pay for the copies, but sponsors do. This system is not wanted in Scandinavia (yet).We prefer newspapers that are wanted, not donated.

4) **Young kids or highschools only**
In Denmark they simplify their NiE offer this way:
The young kids: Reading
Upper primary: Writing
Secondary schools: Read, write and discuss

Some countries focus on elder pupils because they are soon to become(or wanted to become!) customers. Others stress work with younger kids because habits are easier to establish then.

5) **Youth/child-journalism by journalists, children or teachers or no such journalism**
In Norway 1/3 of the newspapers have special pages for young ones even if surveys show that they are not interested in this kind of journalism.
There is a big variation among papers, some pages are written by the young themselves, some by teachers and some by journalists. Newspapers that establish Youth-panels the way I mentioned earlier have a better chance to get young readers. Through their direct participation the editorial department can get ideas regarding how to find interesting themes and interesting ways of presenting news.

I would also like to mention "Ungdomsavisa"(http://www.sol.no/skole/ungdomsavisa/index.html). An internet-newspaper written by upper-secondary pupils at school,

with young people as the main target group. NiE-Norway and Scandinavia Online are responsible for the project that started September last year. Our idea is to give the pupils(who have chosen media as their main subject) the chance to develop journalistic skills through practising. Every class is responsible for one month, and they are trained beforehand on a special WebPage for this use. The teachers meet every month to discuss this months work, and coming months plans.

6) **Educational-pages or not**
In Ireland Educational Pages or supplements is big business. All the big papers and broadcasters have educational editors.

7) **Competition between large companies**
NiE credibility is in my eyes depending on many factors, one being newspapers co-operating, visualising the profile that they gain through work with Newspapers in Education, not only the N.Y. Times or Gudbrandsdølen Dagningen here at Lillehammer.
In South Africa this is difficult because three large companies control most of the market. This makes good national projects difficult to start for my colleague in Johannesburg.

Summing up

Let me sum up with two quotations

> "We ask too little, we have a society with too many answers and too few questions"
> *Nils Christie* (Professor at the Institute of Criminology in Oslo)
>
> "Our most important task is to make the citizen capable to choose."
> *Georg Apenes* (Director of the Data Inspectorate in Norway).

In our days when the press has more and more "active views" or goals with their journalism it is important that we teach the student to look with crtical eyes on facts(if there are any) and public journalism.

Surveys on Internet

"The younger generation and the press" by Raundalen/Steen:
http://www.nal.no/ais/matr_eng/youth96.html

"World survey on Newspapers in Education Programmes(fourth edition 1997) by JV Steen:
http://www.fiej.org/nie/news_research/survey97.html

NiE in Norway on Internet

The "Avis i Skolen" web site gives details of our activities, such as material and courses available, also background information on the press, its various professions and the use of newspapers in schools. Our web pages also provide the names of key persons in AiS, in newspapers and in schools.

"Avis i Skolen" co-operates with Scandinavian Online (SOL) in producing a newspaper written by secondary school pupils studying the media. Each class acts as editorial staff for one or two months before the next school takes over.

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Reform and Changes in Social Studies

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Key Words

Social Studies, history teaching, curriculum reform, evidence-based approach, content versus skills, historical thinking, ICT, textbooks and history teaching.

Abstract

The 1998 reforms in teacher education mark the end of a major curricula reform period in Norway which started in 1993 when the Core Curriculum was launched, giving the parameters for primary, secondary and adult education. The Social Studies, all through the age range from primary to teacher education, have been part of this reform campaign. The paper analyses what has happened to history in this reform period, taking a closer look at the new curriculum for history in teacher education. *Transition* means that history, according to the new curricula, is on the move. The present position being easily identified, the direction and pace of moving are rather more difficult to predict, the curriculum itself being the less important agent of change. Recent research findings on children's ability to use and benefit from studying primary material can be an incentive. The paper ends by discussing the possible role of ICT[1] as a possible major agent for speeding up the transition process.

1. Setting the scene: The changing face of European history teaching.

History is more like a mirror for the present than a window to the past. The European scene in the nineties bears proof to this truism. Following the historic events of 1989 new questions are being asked of the role of history and especially history teaching, both in Western and Eastern Europe. Euroclio[2] was founded in the aftermath of the break down of the Soviet Union and has taken on special responsibility for establishing contacts with history teachers in Eastern Europe.

The president of the Euroclio, Mrs Joke van der Leeuw-Roord for the Netherlands, stated the aims of history teaching in the New Europe at the annual meeting in Berlin in March 1995:

> In our curricula we should shift more towards concepts and skills, not only to help them learn history, but make them do history. To enable our students to ask questions, to distinguish dangerous information, to be aware of the dangers of mono-causal interpretations and to create an awareness of the feeble balance of peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The emphasis on concepts and skills draws heavily on *New History* movement in England from about 1970, emphasising enquiry skills, problem-solving and the evidence based approach, most clearly exposed in the very successfull *School History Project 13-16* [3], which has profoundly influenced history teaching both at primary level and A-level. International interest has especially been attracted to the unseen-paper-two exam where students have to handle unseen sources and answer evidence based questions, relying on their understanding of concepts and their mastering of historical skills. The use of unseen sources means that the mastering of skills and concepts can be tried independently of sheer memorisation.

The idea coined in the phrase *do history*[4] is an important part of this approach, meaning extensive work with primary source material, emphasising the epistemology of the subject. The emphasis on *pupils* asking question means a serious threat to the average history classroom almost everywhere. The president's statement was a significant break with "the great tradition" of history teaching in European countries throughout this century.

The Nuffield Primary History Project 1991-97[5] (NPHP), a classroom based action research project, opposes the emphasis on epistemology in *SHP 13-16*, taking a very radical approach to depth studies, using extensively challenging and

demanding primary source material from a very early age with very cautious use of epistemology and a very critical stand towards history as overviews.[6] *The NPHP* has given the concept of *doing history* a new dimension. Impacts from these projects can be traced in the Norwegian history curricula.

A closer look at history curricula and classroom practice in Europe reveals that the more trivial and day-to-day problems of the teaching of history almost everywhere is the same: content overload mainly due to the universal credo of the all-importance of overviews, teachers delivering "lectures" because they are short of time, and therefore consequently passive pupils, ending up in exams demanding the reproduction of "lectures" and textbooks.[7]

2. The Norwegian history teaching scene

The history teaching tradition in Norway is very much like the average European with heavy emphasis on overviews and history conceived as a body of knowledge to be transferred, received, memorised and returned at exams by the students. *The Core Curriculum (1993)*[8] set the parameters for curriculum reforms to follow in secondary, upper secondary and adult education, emphasising the investigative mind and way of learning and the form of knowledge approach, very much in contrast to the history teaching tradition.

The curricula for primary and secondary schools (6-16) reintroduced history as a discrete subject from 10 years of age onwards alongside geography and civics under the umbrella title of Social Science. The skill/concepts approach can be traced in the objectives for history in secondary school listed in Appendix 2. The table of objectives is, however, followed by a rather detailed list of prescribed topics to be covered in each form.

The Upper Secondary history curriculum is quite different (Appendix 2). The aims and objectives are stated in very broad and general terms with no content prescribed at all. It is up to the teacher (and the pupils) to make up the syllabus and make decisions on what topics will be best suited to accomplish the aims and objectives stated. Objective 3 very clearly states the epistemology approach as an equal part of the curriculum.

3. The teacher education reform 1998 (LU 98)

In Norway history teachers in upper secondary school (16-19) usually hold a university grade, while history teachers in primary and secondary school pass thorough four years of college education. Here they do both their academic and their didactical studies.[9] So the history curriculum for teacher education (appendix 1) has to take care of both the subject content knowledge as well as the pedagogical content knowledge. History is part of a half year course in Social Studies (optional), but is studied as a discrete subject on an equal basis to geography and civics.

The new curriculum for History in the Social Studies curriculum (Appendix 1) conforms to a strict template set up by the Department to be used with every subject. An short introduction, giving the very essence of the subject, precedes nine statements of objectives describing the students competence after having completed their studies, the first six dealing with the academic part of the subject and the last three with history didactics.

The introduction emphasises the provisional and dynamic nature of the subject as an academic discipline. This should also be an integral part of the school subject. It means that the basic epistemology of the subject should be taken into consideration from the very early age of schooling, making the new curriculum a very ambitious one. The last sentence which says that history is a discipline that links the past, the present *and the future* points to a new paradigm for history didactics focusing the concept *historical consciousness* that has been played an important role in history didactic research in the Nordic countries over the last ten years, especially in Denmark.[10]

The six objectives for the academic part do not prescribe content, but list principles for organising content based on *turning points*, *epochs*, *thematic longitudal studies* and *cross-curricular studies* of regions linking up with the same regions in geography and civics. The last item states that the professional uses of historical sources should be an integral part of the study.

The last three objectives (the didactics) makes it very clear that history in schools should be based on active learning principles and that the use of historical sources in many different forms are an integral part of this approach. The importance of new assessment methods, e.g. exam papers where pupils are asked to analyse and evaluate unseen source material, will strengthen active learning processes as part of classroom teaching and as well the organising of the learning processes.

4. Implementing the new curriculum: the research impetus

The Piagetian framework was not very encouraging for those who advocated an evidence based approach to history teaching. Research on a Piagetian basis in the 1960-ies seemed to confirm that pupils were not capable of abstract thinking necessary to cope with source material, problems of evidence and the making and testing of hypotheses. In the late 1970-ies major research projects proved that Piagetian concepts bear little relevance to the kind of thinking generic to history and opened up much research to follow.[11] The *SHP 13-16* was to a certain extent a kind of classroom proof against the constraints posed upon history by the Piagetian school.

For history teaching in the primary school the findings of the *NPHP* (page 2) are very encouraging and the impact can be very easily traced in the Norwegian curriculum (appendix 1). Their classroom approach and their down to earth reporting in their books will serve as a stepping stone for the new curriculum.[12]

5. Implementing the new curriculum: ICT as a possible agent of change

ICT in a didactical context is mostly associated with the Internet. As a communication system the Internet is superb, but as a retrieval system in its embryonic stage, almost useless as a learning tool. The searching machines are, and will probably in the foreseeable future, be incapable of keeping up with the exponential growth of information available on the Internet.

Most important, however, is the fact that the proper use of Internet as a learning tool put heavy demands on the pupils' mastering of the basics: literacy and numeracy, not to mention their conceptual understanding. It may well be that the Internet presupposes the kind of competence that it is supposed to develop more efficiently that any other learning tool or process.[13] Internet is by its own nature counterproductive to the very fundamentals of learning, as suggested in this matrix:

	CYBERSPACE	LEARNING
SPACE	DISTANCE	CLOSENESS
PACE	SURFING	FOCUS
QUANTITY	DISORDER	ORDER

For the time being the CD-ROM, from a didactical point of view, seems a more useful learning tool. This medium may well be looked upon as a closed Internet, profiting from the advantages of an almost unlimited access to information, especially when DVD is taken into consideration, but escaping the pitfalls of Internet. History concerned CD-ROMs may well be a most useful agent to implement some very important new ideas in the new curricula.

The professionally made CD-ROMs are structured around topics, contain an abundance of primary sources with complete provenance identified and have a search system that serves both as an introduction to the epistemology of the subject and as a training ground for the pupils for possible, cautious and planned search on the Internet itself. They are accompanied by handbooks, the best of them serve as excellent handbooks for teachers and pupils on how to use primary sources. Problem-solving exercises on a progressive scale are offered.[14]

6. The history textbook and ICT

To my view there is no denying that the traditional textbook is a formidable enemy to any new approach to history teaching. Irrespective of good or bad writing, the very idea of history presented to pupil in the traditional way of condensed synthesis, is counterproductive to making history alive to the adolescents way up in the school system.

The classical problem of the subject, anytime and everywhere declared as the main problem, is content overload. The textbook author tries to solve this problem by raising the level of abstraction by bringing together many different facts and phenomena under the same concepts. To avoid making the text difficult to read, colloquial language is often used for an abstract concept. The pupil meets with a text that on the surface seems easy. However, the substance is still abstract and since most pupils, far up in the school system, are unable to combine this with any concrete experience, the result is that they still do not understand what they are reading in the text. Many paragraphs are like chemical formulas to a surprisingly great number of pupils.

The new curricula in Norway requires the teachers to create their own syllabi in close cooperation with the pupils. ICT, mainly in the way of an increasing number of professionally made CD-ROM's, opens up new avenues of selecting and using primary sources to work emphatically and to indulge in problem-solving exercises. CD-ROM's may be an provisional as a medium, waiting for Internet to leave its embryonic stage, but in the near future the medium should be a good ally for the teachers to implement basic ideas in the new

curricula. Editing programs and high quality copying facilities will add to the flavour.

The history textbook will always be fundamental to the teaching of history, but in a new format and with a new content, still to be seen.

Conclusion

The new history curricula for teacher education and for the 6-16 year range represent a major break with the long-lasting history teaching tradition in Norway, trying to strike a new balance between content and concepts/skills, between "know-that" knowledge and "know-how" knowledge, between history as a body of knowledge and history as a form of knowledge, between depth and overviews. History teachers are not well prepared for this change. New research findings and new media may be agents of change in the transition period to come.

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Appendix 1

Extract from Social Studies Curriculum
TEACHER EDUCATION (four years)
The Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs 1998.
(non-authorised translation by E.L)

HISTORY

Part of a half year course in Social Studies (optional)

History: Aims and objectives

History as a discipline aims at reconstructing the past based on what is left over to us from the past. Historical accounts are interpretations that always will be open for discussion. New generations will always ask new questions of old and new sources and create new answers. The subject therefore is a dynamic one both as an academic discipline and as a school subject. Its basic concepts are that of continuity and change, cause and consequence on a time scale that links the past, the present and the future.

The students shall be able to

- consider events and conditions in the present world in connection with (as part of) human acts in the near and distant past
- analyse the concept *turning point* and apply

this concept to one turning point before app. 1750 and one turning point after 1750
- account for one epoch chosen from two of the following levels _ local, national, European or non-European.
- account for and discuss one thematic longitudal study with special reference to the concepts of continuity and change
- make use of historical sources in cross-curricular studies of regions located to Norway/Scandinavia and to a non-European region, the regions being identical to the regions studied in geography and civics.
- ask and answer relevant historical questions by using and assessing in their historical context a range of different categories of sources like documents, artefacts, buildings, pictures, photos, film, music and oral sources
- plan, implement and assess teaching- and learning processes in history by using e.g. story-telling, artefacts, pictures, different simulation techniques and written and oral sources
- consider and use different forms of pupils1 assessment modes relevant to the learning objectives for history
- make use of results from research in the field of history didactics when teaching and learning processes are considered, emphasising learning activities that influence and develop the pupils1 understanding of causality

UPPER SECONDARY (16-19 YEARS)

Aims and objectives

Objective 1: The pupils shall have knowledge about main social changes in Norway and be able to put them into a Nordic and global connection.

Ten points of objectives listed

Objective 2: The pupils shall have knowledge about the main features within society and culture in the history of the word and know about various approaches to economic and political development.

Five points of objectives listed

Objective 3: The students shall comprehend basic historical concepts and methods in history.

Main points
The students shall
3a comprehend basic historical concepts like cause and consequence, continuity and change
3b know about methods that are used to collect, examine, and analyse historical material, and be able to use these methods in their own work
3c find examples of and assess different interpretations of important historical issues
3d be able to consider historical accounts and the use of history openly and critically.

Appendix 2

Extracts from History Curriculum for Secondary (13-16) and Upper Secondary (16-19) The Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs 1997-1998.
(non-authorised translation by E.L)

SECONDARY SCHOOL (13-16 YEARS)

Aims and objectives
Overviews from 1750 to the present time

The students shall develop overviews ((surveys) of the period 1750 to the present time. They shall account for and shall be able to consider (evaluate) connections, similarities and differences in how societies have developed in different countries and on different continents. They shall be able to find causes and consequences of important historical events. They shall study, analyse and assess historical sources and different historical accounts.

(Main points of contents listed)

Notes

[1] Information and Communication Technology, formerly IT, the new acronym imposed by EU 1997.
[2] An umbrella organization of history teacher's associations from 40 European countries, founded 1991.
[3] David Sylvester's article *Change and continuity in history teaching 1900-93* is a very good survey of English history teaching in this century, putting New History and SHP 13-16 in their proper perspective. See Bourdillon, Hilary and Shemilt, Denis in References.
[4] First used by Hexter 1972 to denote the active involvement of pupils in primary source material. See reference list.
[5] The projects directors are professor John Fines and dr. Jon Nichol, Exeter University, England. A full list of publications from the projects is given in Fines & Nichol *Teaching Primary History London 1997.* See reference list.
[6] Professor John Fines: Depth is perhaps our true credo. Unless the children are tangling with real historic materials in a real historic way there is no point in the operation. So whilst madmen drivel in the media about knowing the framework of the past, about a structure of dates and events, about a knowledge of chronology (all total miasmas, believe me, proof of madness) the

teacher must keep his or her head and let the little divers dive, go deep, begin really to know things, to become expert, properly knowledgeable, to have the confidence to say "I think I can say something about all this, and it is my idea"É I am never sure whether I am a history teacher, an English teacher or a priest - sometimes I think that I am the learnerÉ"

Quote from Fines, John & Hopkins, Tony. 1996. *The First World War. Key stage 3. A teaching approach, with strategies, resources and examples of children's work*. Chichester: Front Line Publications.

[7] Reports from Council of Europe conferences and seminars. See references.

[8] The Core Curriculum 1993, p. 14: Scientific method develops both the creative and critical senses, and is within everyone's reach. Children and adolescents are by nature curious, imaginative and keen to exploreÉ

Skills in scientific thinking and working methods demands the training of three faculties:

- The ability to wonder and to pose new questions;
- The ability to invent possible explanations for phenomena one has observed;
- The ability to test one's explanations by examination of sources, experimentation, or observation.

Education should provide, through examples and practice, rehearsals of these three stages of research, which correspond to the innate inquisitiveness of the young: to make observations, to offer explanations and to examine their validity - to ponder, to surmise and to probe.

[9] The use of the phrase *didactics* in a Scandinavian pedagogy is equivalent to the American phrase *pedagogical subject knowledge*.

[10] Historical knowledge received informally outside schools is considered more important than history taught in schools in shaping historical consciousness, i.e. the linking of the past, the present and the future. The centre of this «school of thought» is *Danmarks lærerhøiskole, København*. The concept *historical consciousness* has played an important part in the proceedings of the Nordic standing conferences on history didactics over the last ten years. The conference meets every third year. The printed conference reports are all in Scandinavian languages. Bøe, Jan Bjarne *Faget om fremtiden* (Norwegian) gives an introduction to this new paradigm. See references.

[11] The first was Martin Booth in 1979. His thesis is summarised in Educational Review 32, 3 *A modern world history course and the thinking of adolescent pupils*. See references.

[12] Hilary Cooper has done research on younger children's (8 - 9 years) historical thinking. Her research investigated the hypotheses that

- children can make deductions and valid inferences about a range of sources: artefacts, pictures, maps, diagrams, written sources;
- they can make a distinction between what is known, what can be inferred, and what cannot be known;
- teaching strategies are significant in their ability to do this; and
- their thinking can be evaluated.

Cooper, Hilary (1991), Young Children's Thinking in History, Unpublished PhD Thesis, London; London University Institute of Education. See references.

[13] The naivit - as to the potentials of the Internet as a learning tool seems unlimited among some educational authorities in Norway. It has been suggested that the school day could be reduced by a half because pupils could on their own acquire the necessary basic information through the Internet much more efficiently that in schools (and cheaperÉ). Mr Tony Blair, quite to the contrary, has imposed an obligatory literacy and numeracy hour every week in every school in England to make up for the apparent loss of the basic competence needed to use ICT.

[14] The CD-ROMs listed below are to my view good examples of professionally made CD-ROMs for use in the history classroom:

MEDIEVAL REALMS: BRITAIN 1066 - 1500. Produced by the British Library 1995. Turpin Distribution Services Limited, Blackhorse Road, Letchworth, Hertfordshire, SG6 1HN United Kingdom, Tel.: 095 44 462 672555. Fax: 095 44 462 480947. Teachers handbook with problem-solving exercises on a progressive scale.

AMERICAN JOURNEY. HISTORY IN YOUR HANDS. Research Publications International Woodbridge, CT, Reading, England. P.O. Box 45, Reading RG1 8HF, England, Fax: +44 1734 591325. Tel.: +441734 583247. Primary Source Media. 1995. Many topics covered like *Women in America, The Immigrant Experience etc.* .

Excellent handbooks for teachers and for teachers and parents on the use of primary sources.

THE MAKING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. CROWNS. PARLIAMENTS AND PEOPLES 1500 - 1750. The British Library 1998. The British Library Marketing and Publishing Office, 96 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB. Ph. +44171-4127704. Fax +44171-412 7768. Brings problem-solving on an evidence-base approach even further than the MEDIEVAL REALMS.

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